

H. Grinham

A  
DISSERTATION  
Concerning the Government of the  
**Ancient Church,**  
BY  
BISHOPS, METROPOLITANS,  
and PATRIARCHS.

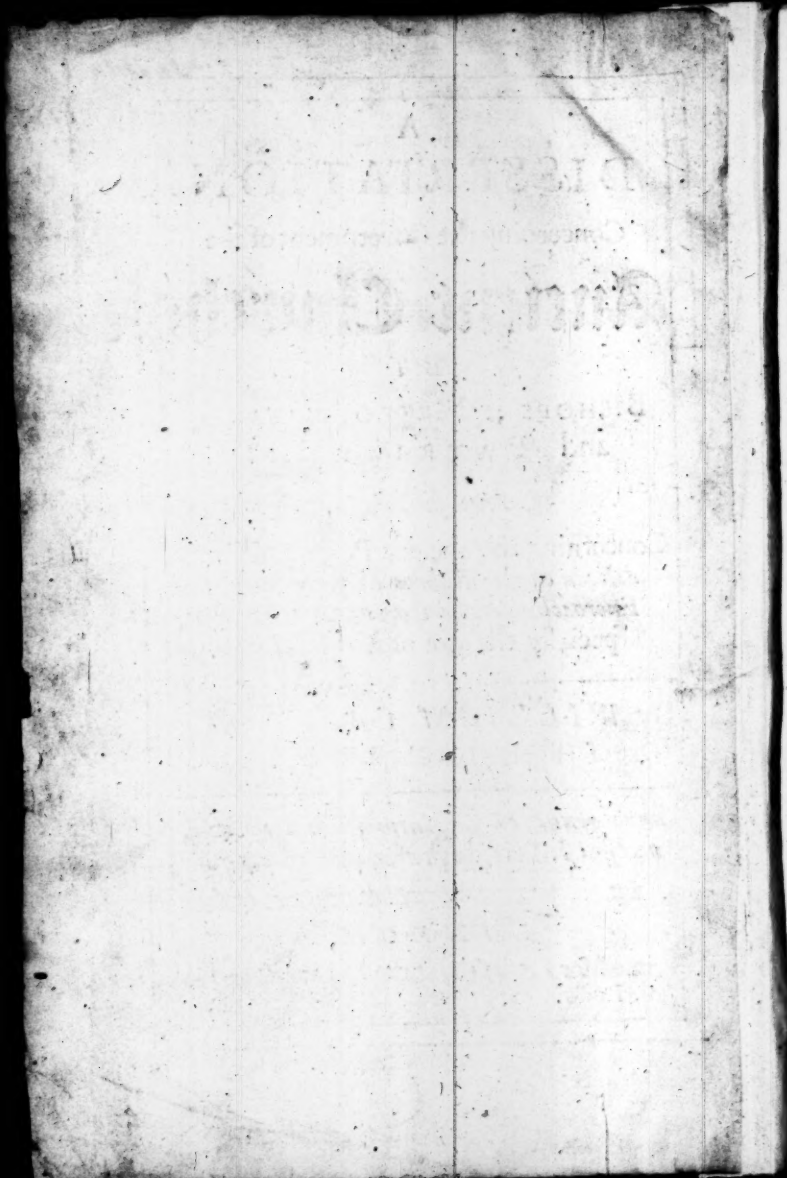
*More particularly,*

Concerning the ancient *Power* and *Jurisdiction* of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, and the *Encroachments* of that upon other *Sees*, especially the *See* of *Constantinople*.

By WILLIAM CAVE, D.D.  
One of His Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary.

*Omne genus ad Originem suam censeatur,  
necesse est.* Tert. de præscript. c. 20. p. 208.

L O N D O N,  
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C37 TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND  
FATHER IN GOD  
HENRY

Lord Bishop of LONDON,  
*One of the Lords of His  
Majesties most Honoura-  
ble PRIVY-COUNCIL.*

*My Lord,*

**I**N compliance with  
the good old Rule  
of S. Ignatius, *Xωὲς* *Epist. ad*  
*τὴν Ἀπολόγην μὴδὲν ποιεῖτε, Do Philadelph.*  
*nothing without leave from p. 30. vid.*  
*the Bishop, I have taken ad Trall.*  
the confidence to lay  
these Papers at Your  
Lordships feet; being  
a 3 well

*The Epistle*

well content , they  
should receive from  
You a sentence of Life  
or Death ; either to  
come abroad into open  
light, or be condemn'd  
to be thrown aside , if  
you shall judge them  
useless and unprofita-  
ble. For I am not so  
fond of my own Un-  
dertakings, as to flat-  
ter my self, that any  
thing that I can do,  
will work much upon  
the obstinate humour  
of a perverse and con-  
tentious Age.

*My*

*Dedictory.*

*My Lord,* The Church of England is usually assaulted by two sorts of adversaries. The one declar'd Enemies to the Episcopal Government, or if at any time in a good humour they allow the name, they deny the thing, making the Bishop of the Primitive times no more in effect than a meer Parish-Priest. The other are great pretenders to Antiquity, and strongly enough assert the Episcopal Order, but with all would obtrude upon

*The Epistle*

us a Supreme and Universal Bishop, to whom all others are to be subject and accountable, and he we may be sure is the Bishop of *Rome*. As for the first of these, I have not directly enter'd the Lists with them, though what is here said concerning the Ancient Church-Government might be enough to satisfy Men modest and unprejudic'd; and more I did not think fit to add. They have been so often baffled upon that  
Argu-

*Dedictory.*

Argument, that nothing but a resolv'd obstinacy could make them keep a post, so utterly indefensible. But the Men of that way seem generally too over-weaning and opiniative, and I have no hopes of doing good upon that Man, *that's wiser in his own Conceit, than seven Men that can render a Reason.* Indeed the nature of my design led me more immediately to encounter with the other Party, whose cause (so far  
as


*The Epistle*

as it relates to the Subject under debate ) I have examin'd , and brought to be tried by the Standard of Antiquity, the truest Rule to proceed by in this matter ; and this managed without any needless Exasperations. For I never could think it a reasonable method of Conviction to rail at Popery, or to load the Bishop of *Rome* with ill Names , and spiteful Characters. The best way sure in such cases is to appeal to the judgment

*Dedicatory.*

ment of the Ancients,  
and to enquire what  
power and authority  
was allow'd him in the  
wiser and better Ages  
of Christianity. Which  
I hope I have done  
with all truth and fair-  
ness in the following  
Discourse.

*My Lord,* Your Lord-  
ships known Zeal for  
the *Protestant* Cause, and  
(what next the good-  
ness of the Divine Pro-  
vidence is the strong-  
est Bulwark and De-  
fence of it) the honour  
and interest of the  
Church



*The Epistle*

Church of ENGLAND,  
might give you a just  
Title to this Discourse,  
though there were no  
other inducement to it.  
But we that are the  
Clergy of Your Dio-  
ceses, think our selves  
oblig'd to take all oc-  
casions of letting the  
World know, how much  
we rejoyce under the  
happy Influences of  
Your Care and Con-  
duct; how much we  
are beholden to that  
great Example of Pa-  
storal Industry and Di-  
ligence, you daily set  
before



*Dedicatory.*

before us ; that we have to deal with a temper so incomparably sweet and obliging, and that not only in private Converses, but in all public Cases that concern the Church under your Charge, you are pleased so freely and familiarly to consult and advise with us. 'Tis this ( to mention no more ) that creates in us so just a regard and veneration for Your Lordship. And I verily believe, since the Primitive Times there  
never

## *The Epistle*

never was a more mutual Endearment and Correspondence. Never Bishop, that treated his Clergy with a more Paternal kindness and Condescension; never Clergy that paid a greater Reverence, and a more chearful Obedience to their Bishop. That this Concord and Agreement may not only continue, but increase, and the happy effects of it visibly spread over your whole Diocese, and especially

*Dedicatory.*

ly this great CITY,  
is the earnest Prayer  
of,

MY LORD,

*Your Lordships faithful and*

*sincerely devoted Servant,*

WILLIAM CAVE.



To the Reader.

**TO THE  
READER.**

**A**mong the several  
Virtues, wherewith  
the Religion of our  
Lord does at once refine and  
adorn Humane Nature, there  
are none conduce more, both to  
the peace of the World, and  
the quiet of private and par-  
ticular persons, than Humi-  
lity and Contentment; the  
laying aside the vain and fond  
opinion of our selves, a lowli-  
ness of Mind to esteem  
b others

## To the Reader.

others better than our  
selves, in honour pre-  
ferring one another; an  
easiness and satisfaction under  
that plate and portion, which  
the Wisdom of the Divine  
Providence has thought fit to  
allot us, and a generous Con-  
tempt of those little and sordid  
Arts, by which Men hunt af-  
ter Power and Greatness, and  
impatiently affect Dominion  
and superiority over others.

A noble and divine temper  
of Mind, which our Lord  
has effectually recommended  
both by his Doctrine, and the  
example of his Life. He has  
taught us, that we should not,  
after

## To the Reader.

*after the proud and hypocritical manner of the Pharisees,*  
do our works to be  
seen of Men, make  
broad our Phylacteries,  
and enlarge the borders  
of our Garments,  
love the uppermost  
Rooms at Feasts, and  
the chief Seats in the  
Synagogue, and greetings  
in the Markets;  
*that we should not affect*  
proud Titles, and the honour  
of a Name, to be  
call'd of Men, Rabbi,  
Rabbi, for that one is  
our Master, even Christ,  
and all we are Brethren,

*Mat. xxiii.*

*5, 6, 7, 8, 9,  
10, 12.*

## To the Reader.

(not that our Lord here absolutely forbids all Honour and Precedence, no more than he does all Mastership and Superiority in what follows, but only an inordinate desire, a vicious and irregular inclination toward these things, and an undue and tyrannical exercise of them) that we should call no man our Father upon Earth, that is, in the same sense, and with the same respect, wherewith we do God, for that one is our Father, which is in Heaven, neither that we be called Masters, for that one

Νὴ καλέσατε  
πατέρα· ἕκ  
ἵνα μὴ καλῶ-  
σιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα  
εἰδῶσιν ὅν κυ-  
ρίως πατέρα  
καλεῖν χρεῖ.  
Chrysost. in  
loc.



## To the Reader.

one is our Master, even Christ: For that whofoever should exalt himself, shall be abased, and he that should humble himself, shall be exalted.

*And then for his own practice, how openly did he protest against seeking his own glory, or receiving honour from Men? how studiously did he stifle the fame of his own Miracles, and whatever might raise him in the esteem and value of the World. When an Appeal was made to him to judge a Cause, he rebuk'd the motion*

## To the Reader.

*with a who made me a Judge, and a Ruler over you? When the Jews were resolv'd to have made him King, he fled from the very shadow of a Crown. When there was a strife amongst his own Apostles, which of them should be accounted the greatest, like the Kings of the Gentiles which exercis'd Lordship and Authority over their Subjects, he ended the Controversy with a short decision, but ye shall not be so.*

*This Charge S. Peter particularly applies to the Bishops*

## To the Reader.

*shops and Rulers of the Church, that they should not be Lords over God's Heritage ; that the younger should submit themselves to the elder ; yea, all of them be subject one to another, and be cloathed with Humility : for that God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.*

*1 Pet. v. 3, 5.*

*Had the excellent Rules here laid down by S. Peter, been observ'd by those who pretend to be his Successors, the Christian World had been free from those infinite disturbances*

*b 4 bances*

## To the Reader.

bances and distractions, which the pride and ambition of the Roman Bishops have brought upon it. For certainly among all the corruptions and innovations of that Church, nothing is more palpable and notorious, than an intolerable usurpation over the Rights of their Brethren; nothing more wild and extravagant, than the challenging a Supremacy over the Christian Church, as affix'd to the See of Rome, expressly contrary not only to the Scripture, the great Canon of our Faith, but to the Laws of all ancient Councils,  
and

## To the Reader.

and the practice of the Church; which however it allow'd a primary honour and respect to the Roman Prelate, yet still set him out, as it did to all other Bishops, the particular extent of his Jurisdiction.

This is that which I have endeavour'd to evince in the following Discourse, wherein I have trac'd the Papal Authority to those proper bounds and limits, within which it was confin'd of old. And upon that occasion have briefly survey'd the frame and constitution of the ancient Church, and that Policy and Govern.

## To the Reader.

*Government, whereby it was  
manag'd in its purer and  
better times.*

*That which gave birth to  
the whole Discourse, was this:  
I had elsewhere in relating  
the Acts of the second gene-  
ral Council, represented the  
third Canon of that Council,  
which decreed, that the Bi-  
shop of Constantino-  
ple, upon the account  
of its being New Rome,  
or the Imperial City, should  
have the priviledge of  
honour next to the Bi-  
shop of Rome. A Ca-  
non which they of Rome  
could never pardon, as which  
limits*

Life of  
S. Greg.  
Naz.  
Sect. v.  
Num. ix.

## To the Reader.

limits the power of the Roman Prelate, and declares the foundation upon which it stands. For the illustration of this Canon, I intended in that place to have added a digression concerning the ancient Power and Precedence of the Bishops of Rome; but upon second thoughts, re-ferr'd it to an Appendix at the end of the Book. But that Book swelling into too great a bulk, and this Discourse being grown beyond the proportion that was at first design'd, I was over-perswaded by some Friends to venture it abroad alone. A thing which  
bad

## To the Reader.

*had I intended from the beginning, it had come forth, at least in some parts, more perfect than it is, and with some advantages which now it is forc'd to go without.*

*I have wholly wav'd all Debates concerning the Jus Divinum of Episcopacy, and the Controversies that depend upon it, (enough has been said upon that Argument) and have chiefly insisted upon those branches of the Ecclesiastic Government, which have been less canvass'd amongst us.*

*For the same reason I have more lightly touch'd upon the Pope's Universal Supremacy,*  
*twas*



## To the Reader.

'twas his Metropolitcal  
and Patriarchal Power I  
principally design'd to enquire  
into. I know Volumes have  
been written De primatu  
Papæ, de Ecclesiis Sub-  
urbicariis, &c. and there-  
fore I have reduc'd what con-  
cerns those matters into as  
narrow a compass as I could,  
and have said no more than  
what is necessary to clear the  
Argument, and express my  
own sense about it.

If what is here said shall  
administer any light to this  
part of Church-antiquity, I  
shall be very glad; if not,  
I am content it should follow  
the

## To the Reader.

the fate of many much better Books to be thrown aside. 'Twas never design'd to instruct the Learned, but only to form a short Scheme of the true state of things, for the benefit of those, who have not been much conversant in the Antiquities of the Church; at least to give some aid and direction to the younger sort, who first apply themselves to the study of those ancient Times. And if it may but attain this end, I shall think my Time and Pains have been well bestow'd.

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# THE CONTENTS.

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the

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E 2

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Hildebrand. Page 267

## ERRATA.

**P**Age 5. line 8. read *whosoever*. p. 52. l. 21.  
r. *Administration*. p. 73. marg. r. *iii*.  
p. 75. l. 12. r. *-head*. p. 110. l. 19. r. *Cru-*  
*stimum*. p. 133. l. 15. r. *larger*. p. 136.  
l. 3. r. *desire*. p. 152. l. 12. after *who*, add  
*are*. p. 173. l. 4. r. *this*. p. 187. l. 22. r. *them*.  
p. 300. l. 4. r. *Oixquyn*. p. 304. l. 13. r. *Isi-*  
*dore*.

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A  
DISSERTATION  
Concerning the  
GOVERNMENT  
OF THE  
ANCIENT CHURCH,  
BY  
Bishops, Metropolitans, and  
Patriarchs, &c.

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CHAP. I.

The State of the *Church-  
Government*, and Power of  
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*An Equality among the Apostles as  
Church Governours appointed by  
B Christ.*

## A Discourse of the

*Christ. Peters pretended Supremacy over the rest shewed to be vain and groundless. If any such had been granted, it belong'd not to the Roman Bishops. Early appearances of the Pride and Usurpation of the Bishops of that Church. Special advantages of that See to set up for Tyranny and Usurpation. The foundation of that Church by two great Apostles, Peter and Paul. Rome the Seat of the Empire. The honour and advantages of that Church thereby. The Catholick Faith long time preserv'd intire in the Church of Rome. Its large Revenues affording liberal Hospitality. Its sending forth Emissaries to plant Christianity in other Countries, and thereby claiming superiority over them. The pride of that Church severely censur'd by St. Basil. A general Scheme of the subordination in the govern-*

## Ancient Church-Government.

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Government of the Primitive Church, by Bishops, Arch-bishops and Patriarchs, and the Conformity herein to the Civil State. Episcopal Government how it spreads it self at first? Metropolitans introduced and why. A brief account of the ancient way of Ecclesiastical Administration out of Cyprian and others, by the Bishop and his Clergy, by Provincial Synods. What things usually managed there. Foreign Churches how mutually transacting with one another. The Bishops of Rome had no more authority in this Period than the Bishops of other greater Sees. Pope Melchiades appointed Commissioner by Constantine. Donatus appeals from his Judgment. His sentence brought under Examination in the Synod of Arles.

B z

I. OR.

I. **O**R D E R and Government are so essentially necessary to the peace and welfare of Mankind, that no Society whether civil or sacred can subsist without it : Where there is none to command, there will be none to obey, and where every one is left to do what he please, there must *be confusion and every evil work.* No sooner therefore had our Blessed Saviour laid the foundation of the Christian Church, but *he chose twelve, whom he named Apostles,* to whose care and conduct he committed the administration of it. These he invested with equal powers, upon these he deriv'd the same mission, which he himself had receiv'd from God, *As*

*Joh. xx. 21. my father sent me, so send I you.*

All



## *Ancient Church-Government.*

All had the same authority to Preach, Plant, and propagate the Church, to feed and rule the flock of Christ, to go teach and baptize all Nations; the same Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven committed to one as well as another, that whatsoever sins they should remit, they should be remitted, and whosoever sins they retain, they should be retained: The same Holy Spirit breathed upon all with a receive ye the Holy Ghost. Notwithstanding all which, it is confidently pretended on the behalf of S. Peter, that a paramount authority was conferr'd upon him, and that not only above, but over the rest, that he was constituted by our Lord, Prince and Head of the Colledge; the other Apostles were indeed Shepherds of the Flock, but were themselves Christs Sheep, and St. Pe-

## A Discourse of the

ter appointed Pastor over them; with a great deal more, boldly asserted at a venture, and attempted to be made good by such warrant from Scripture, as any thing, but the necessity of maintaining a desperate cause would be ashamed to produce. And as no such charter can be produc'd, sign'd by our Saviour, so neither do we find S. Peter challenging, much less exercising any such superiority. He submitted to the Orders of the Apostolical Colledge, and rendered himself accountable to them for his actions, styles himself no more than their *Fellow-Presbyter*, and cautions against *Lording over God's Heritage*. How openly did S. Paul assert, that he came not a whit behind τῶν ὑποτακτῶν ἀποστόλων, the very *chiefest Apostles*? and that the *Gospel of the Uncircumcision* was committed

1 Pet. v. 1,  
2, 3.

11 Cor. xi. 5.

Gal. ii. 7.

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7

mitted unto him, as well as that of the Circumcision was to Peter. James and John are said to be Pillars as well as he; nay, the whole twelve Apostles are equally styl'd the twelve foundations of the new Jerusalem, that descended out of Heaven, and it was indifferently promised to all, that they should sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel. Nay, when a strife arose amongst them, which of them should be greatest in his Kingdom, our Lord on purpose to silence all such ambitious attempts for the future, plainly told them, that though the Kings of the Gentiles exercised Dominion over their Subjects, and they that are great exercised authority upon them: Yet ye shall not be so; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, and whosoever will be chief

Rev. xxi. 14.

Matth. xix. 28.

Matth. xx. 25, 26, 27.

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among you, let him be your Ser-  
vant.

II. AND yet after all should it be granted, that our Lord gave S. Peter some kind of superiour power over the rest, yet what is this to the Bishops of Rome? unless it could be prov'd, that those priviledges were to be Hereditary, and were not to determine and expire with S. Peter's person. Bellarmine \* pleads, that it is founded in a Right of Succession, and this Right settled *jure divino*, and by our Lords own Institution, who expressly commanded S. Peter to fix the Apostolical Seat at Rome. The proofs he brings to make good this command are a passage out of an *Apocryphal* Epistle of Pope Marcellus, long since discarded together with the rest, as the most notorious cheat and imposture  
that

\* *De Rom.*

*Pontif. l. 2.*

*c. 1. Col. 599.*

*c. 12. Col.*

*628. l. 4. c. 4.*

*Col. 803.*

that ever was put upon the Christian Church; and at best an uncertain story of our Lords appearing to *Peter*, and that too nothing to his purpose. And therefore not daring to trust to them, he fairly quits \* the *jus divinum*, and confesses that the Pontifical Succession has no foundation in Scripture: However, that 'tis not improbable, and that 'tis a thing piously to be believed; that is, perhaps it may be so, and perhaps not, we may do well to believe it, but there's no certain ground for it. An admirable foundation to build so important a claim upon, and for the sake whereof they have now for many ages created so much trouble and disturbance to the Christian World. And besides, there's a *μετέωρον ὑπόθεσις* in this case lies at the bottom, it being

\* *L. 2. c. 12.*  
*l. 4. c. 4. ubi*  
*supr.*

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being generally taken for granted, that S. Peter was in a proper sence Bishop of Rome, which yet I believe can never be made good. That he constituted that Church, and laid down his life there for the Confirmation of it, I easily grant, but this makes him not properly Bishop of it, and consequently the Popes cannot properly be his Successours. Dye he might there, but how comes this to entitle the Bishops of Rome to the Succession? If so, then (as a Learned Man \* of the Greek Church long since urged in this case) because our Lord died at Jerusalem, therefore the Bishop of Jerusalem, as possessing the Seat of our great High-Priest, may claim an Universal superiority, and challenge to be as much greater than the Bishop of Rome, as Christ is than Peter.

Once

\* Barlaam περί  
τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς  
ἀρχῆς. κεφ. γ.  
p. 25. edit.  
Græc.

Once more, let it be suppos'd that this Supremacy was entail'd not only upon *S. Peter*, but upon his Successors, how comes it to pass that it was not lodg'd in the See of *Antioch*, where they grant *S. Peter* resided as Bishop several years before he went to *Rome*, and which therefore in all reason ought to challenge a Primary title? An Objection which *Bellarmin* with all the subtilties of his Wit and Learning is not able to claw off. So many insuperable barrs are there lying in the way to this soveraign and unaccountable authority of their Church.

III. BUT what Power soever the Bishops of *Rome* may pretend to derive from *S. Peter*, sure I am they thus far inherit too much of his spirit and temper, that *Septuaginta* I mean, that  
rash

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rash and busie fervour and eagerness, so frequently noted in him by the Ancients : Forward like him to speak, run, and interpose at every turn; and forward like him too to smite with the Sword, when meeting with the least opposition. No sooner were the heats of the fifth persecution somewhat cooled, and the Church entred a little upon more calm and prosperous days, but we find Pope *Victor*, An. 196. picking a quarrel with some of the *Eastern Churches* about the time of Celebrating *Easter*, and though they justified themselves to the Christian World by Apostolical practice, and a constant uninterrupted observation ever since, yet because refusing to comply with the custome of the Church of *Rome*, he hastily threw them under Excommunication,

to



to the great disturbance and amazement of the Christian World, for which he was severely rebuked by the wise and good men of that time, especially the mild and peaceable *Irenæus*. It was not much above half an Age after this, when the practice of Baptizing a new those who had been Baptized by Hereticks begun mightily to prevail in some parts of the *East*, but especially in the *African* Churches. *Stephen*, who was then Bishop of *Rome*, storm'd hereat, and in a great rage publicly declared, that he would hold no Communion with them; and when, according to the custome whereby Churches mutually acted in those days, they sent some Bishops to give him an account of their opinion and practice, he proudly

\* Firmil. Ep.  
ad Cypr. in-  
ter Ep. Cypr.  
p. 150.

ly refused \* either to see them; or speak with them; and not content to deprive them of the Peace and Communion of the Church, he denied them the common offices of humanity and charity, forbidding the Christians at Rome so much as to entertain them. To Cyprian he gave very hard words, calling him *false Christ, false Apostle, deceitful Worker*; and no better did he treat Firmilian Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and the Churches of *Iconium*. But Cyprian (though a man otherwise of great gentleness and moderation) plainly told him, \* that this was nothing but the effect of a proud, impertinent, imprudent, self-contradicting humour, that it proceeded from blindness and perverseness, from obstinacy and presumption, and directly tend-

\* Epist. 74.  
ad Pomp. per  
tot. p. 129.

ed to the Patronage and encouragement of error and Heresie.

*Firmilian* charg'd \* him with inhumanity, audaciousness and insolence, with doing very unjust and unwarrantable things; that they at *Rome*, however vainly pretending Apostolical authority, did not themselves exactly observe primitive tradition, that he could not but disdain *Stephens* open and manifest folly, who while he boasted so much of the eminency of his Episcopal place, and contended that he had the Succession of *Peter*, upon whom the foundations of the Church were laid, did yet hereby introduce several other rocks, and build new Churches upon them. And when not long after the controversie came to be canvass'd in a Synod of Eighty seven *African Bishops*, whom *Cyprian* had

\* *Epist. supr.*  
*cit. p. 143,*  
*&c.*

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had assembled at *Carthage* for that purpose, in the speech that he made at the opening of the Council, *Cyprian* tax'd the Pride and ambition of the Bishop of *Rome*, telling \* them that they should all freely speak their minds, without judging, or Excommunicating any that were of another opinion, that none of them took upon himself to make himself *Bishop of Bishops*, or by a tyrannical threatening to force his Colleagues into a necessity of compliance: since every Bishop according to the power and liberty granted to him, had his proper rule and jurisdiction, and could no more be judg'd by another, than he himself could judge others; that in these matters they were to expect the Judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone had power both

\* *Synod.*

*Carth. apud*

*Cypr. p. 282.*

both of appointing Governours over his Church, and of calling them to an account for their administration.

IV. BY these instances ( and many more no doubt, which the History of those times would have set before us, had the Churches Records come safe to us) it appears, how early the Bishops of *Rome* set out to usurp a Dominion over the Church, and though they generally met with opposition, yet they still went on, and vigorously improv'd all advantages, with what success, the Christian world has now for many ages found to their cost. And certainly never any stood fairer to start and carry on such a design. For,

*First*, Their Church was not only Apostolical, but had been founded by two of the most emi-

C

nent

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nent Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*,  
 which gave a mighty reputation  
 to it in after Ages ; the Christian  
 world bearing an extraordinary  
 reverence to those great names,  
 which the Bishops of that See  
 knew how to improve to their  
 own advantage. For this reason  
*Irenaeus* \* calls the Church of  
 Rome the greatest and most eminent  
 Church, and most Universally known,  
 as being founded by the two  
 most glorious Apostles *Peter* and  
*Paul* ; and *S. Augustine* \* says, that  
 in it there always flourished the  
 principality of the Apostolick  
 Chair; and *Origen* took a journey  
 \* on purpose to Rome, to grati-  
 fy his curiosity with the sight  
 of so ancient and renowned a  
 Church. And upon this account  
 must be discharged very many  
 of those great things, which se-  
 veral of the Fathers speak so li-  
 beral-ly

\* *Adv. Ha-  
 res. l. 3. c. 3.  
 p. 232.*

\* *Epist. 162.  
 col. 728.*

\* *Euseb. H.  
 Eccl. l. 6.  
 c. 14. p. 216.*

berally concerning the Church of *Rome*; who thought they could never express a veneration big enough towards *S. Peter*, and consequently towards the place which he had honoured with his Doctrine and Residence, and watred with his Blood: which however spoken by them out of a devout intent, prov'd the first rounds of that Ladder, by which the *Roman* Bishops mounted up to a Supremacy above the rest. It happening in a few Ages that nothing was talkt of at *Rome*, but of the Prince of the Apostles, and the authority of the Apostolick See, 'till almost every thing there became Apostolical, and was covered with *S. Peters* name.

*Secondly*, Their Church was planted in the Imperial City, a place that seem'd born for Em-

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pire and Sovereignty, that had long since Conquered, and at

that time Governed the greatest part of the World; a City that was the Center of all Nations, and the Seat of Majesty and Magnificence, where all great affairs were transacted, and all the Scenes of glory and greatness represented in a little

—τῇ Ρωμῶν πόλει τε  
 πολυανδρώτῳ τε ἔσῃ &  
 τὰς παντὶ ἀρχόντων ὑποδεχ-  
 μένη. Herod. Hist. l. 1. in  
 vit. Commod. p. 32. Tibi  
 proficiscentium major facul-  
 tas fuit : primò, quia in com-  
 mune imperii caput undique  
 gentium convenitur; tum,  
 quod clementissimum princi-  
 pem in hac parte degentem,  
 varia omnium desideria vel  
 necessitates sequuntur. Sym-  
 mach. l. 4. Epist. xxviii. (ad  
 Protad.) vid. sis not Lectii.

compass. Which could not but reflect a more than ordinary lustre upon those Bishops that sat at the upper end of the world, and make them appear considerably bigger, more conspicuous and useful than the rest of their Brethren, and by reason of the general confluence of all Nations to Rome, enable them in a little



little time to draw the cognizance of Ecclesiastick Causes from all parts thither. 'Twas this conveniency of Situation gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the Emperors, and by their power to enlarge their own Borders, yea, and to succour and relieve their Clients and Dependants, which made many to court their protection and assistance, though often with the loss of their own freedom and liberty. This was especially done after the Emperours became Christians, the *Roman* Church being by them enrich'd with vast honours and privileges, accounting that the greatness of that Church would not a little contribute to the splendour and magnificence of the Empire. And though the Imperial Seat was quickly tran-

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flated to another place, yet besides that the Emperours a long time retain'd their affection for *Rome*, what the Pope lost in one sence, he gain'd in another, making use of the Emperours absence to enhance his own Power and Revenue, 'till he was able not only to Lord it over his brethren, but over Princes themselves.

*Thirdly*, The *Roman Church* continued for several Ages the Seat of true Apostolick Doctrine, maintaining that character that *S Paul* had given them, that *their Faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*, it being here preserv'd pure and uncorrupt, while a great part of the Christian world besides was over run with Error and Heresie, and torn in pieces by Schisms and Factions. This made *Rome* in those days  
(while

(while it remain'd sound and Orthodox) in a manner the Standard of Catholick Communion, most other Churches veering in point of Communion, as they found the Wind blow from that Quarter, and saw how the businels far'd at *Rome*. Accordingly *Theodosius* in the beginning of his Reign resolving to reform the Doctrine of the Church, then miserably degenerated in the *Eastern* parts, commanded, \* that that Faith only should take place, that was profess'd by *Pope Damasus*, and *Peter of Alexandria*, that Faith and Religion which *S. Peter* had delivered to the Church of *Rome*, and which had all along 'till that time flourish'd there. This made way for Appeals, every party being desirous to gain the good will of that Church, and to have

\* *De fid. Cathol. C. Th. leg. 2. vid. Soz. l. 7. c. 4. p. 708.*

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its Bishop pronounce for their cause, 'till from an honourary arbitration it came to be claim'd as a right and due. And persons (especially those who were persecuted in their own Countries for their adherence to the Catholick Faith) were the more encourag'd to repair hither, because here they were kindly treated, and hospitably entertain'd; a piece of charity which the Bishops of that Church by reason of their ample possessions and large endowments, were very capable to afford. For besides their standing Rents and Revenues, their gains by collections and oblations was so great, that by them alone in the time of Pope *Damasus*, they were enabled to live in a state and grandeur like that of Temporal Princes, if we may believe the

the

the account given by *Ammianus Marcellinus*; \* and the story is known of *Prætextatus* (a zealous *Gentile*) design'd to be *Consul*, who reflecting upon the plenty of that See, was wont pleasantly to tell \* *Pope Damasus*, make me but *Bishop of Rome*, and I will immediately become a *Christian*. 'Tis certain that Church could never want plentiful *Incomes* flowing in upon it; and as charitable it was in those days, as it was wealthy, and was not only very kind to strangers when they came thither, but was wont to transmit very liberal distributions of its charity to forreign Churches, to relieve the necessities of the Brethren that were under *Persecution*, and were condemned to the Mines, as *Dionysius Bishop of Corinth* tells us in his Letter \* to *Soter Bishop* of

\* *Lib. 27.*  
p. 1739.

\* *Hieron. ad Pammach. adv. error. Jo. Hierosol.*  
p. 165.

\* *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 23. p. 145.*

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of Rome, written about the Year CLXXIV. and that this had been the custome of that Church from the very Infancy of Christianity.

*Fourthly*, The Church of Rome by the advantage of the Imperial City was capable of propagating the Christian Doctrine into several parts of the *West*, to send out Disciples, receive Dispatches, transmit Directions, and supply all Emergencies that might arise. Accordingly upon this foundation the Popes built and advanc't a claim to Superiority and Dominion. Thus *Damasus* writing \* to the Bishops of *Africk*, tells them, that in all doubtful cases they ought to have recourse to him as to the head, and thence to take their determination, from whence they had received their institution and instruction in the Christian Faith.

And

\* *Epist. v.*  
*Concil. Tom.*  
*ii. col. 876.*

And Pope *Innocent* tells \* *Decentius* Bishop of *Eugubium*, that all the Churches in those parts ought to take their measures from *Rome*, and nothing to be valid, but what's received from thence; it being evident, that no Churches had been planted in *Italy, France, Spain, Africk, Sicily*, and the interjacent Islands by any, but such as had been Ordain'd by *S. Peter*, or his Successors. And this is the Plea we are so often urg'd with, whereby the *Roman* See challenges jurisdiction over *England*, its commissionating *Augustine* the Monk to convert the *Saxons*, and settle Religion in these parts. But were there no more to be offered in answer to it, this were enough, that Christianity had for several ages been planted here, before ever *Austin* set his foot on *English* ground:

\* *Innoc. Epist.*  
I. *ibid.* col.  
1245.

as

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as perhaps we may have occasion to shew afterwards. In short, though it became Churches thus planted, to bear a very grateful respect to that Mother Church, that was the instrument to convey to them the Christian faith; yet did it lay them under no obligation to subjection and servitude: however the Church of *Rome* has handled the matter to its own advantage, and from the lenity and tenderness of a Parent, had degenerated into the pride and cruelty of a Stepmother; and not content to exercise authority over its own Colonies, began to advance its banners over all the rest; proudly proclaiming it self the Mother and Mistres of all Churches. I observe no more, then that pride seems to be a vice more peculiar to *Rome*, than other places: 'twas  
this



this put the old *Romans* upon subduing the world; and by this the Emperors tyrannized over it for some ages, and when *Rome* shifted its Lords, it did not change its Task-masters; the ambition which the Emperors laid down, the Popes took up, and prosecuted it by far worse arts and methods, than ever the *Romans* did of old. *S. Basil* more than once complains \* of the *Τὴν Δουλίαν ὀφφύς*, the pride of the *West*, and how little help was to be expected from them that neither understood the truth, nor would be content to learn it; that he was resolved to write to the Pope, to let him know that it did not become him to insult over and add to the miseries of the afflicted, nor to think pride to be honourable; a thing alone sufficient to render a man odious in

\* *Epist. 10. ad Gregor.*  
p. 54.

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\* *Ap. Baron.*  
*ad An.* 372.  
*T. 4. p.* 322.

in the sight of God : and else-  
 where he expresse<sup>s</sup> \* a very pas-  
 sionate resentment, that he hated  
 the pride of that Church.

V. FURNISHED with these  
 advantages, the Roman Prelates  
 set up for themselves, and gave  
 not over, till they had by right  
 and wrong spread such an Eccle-  
 siastic Empire over the world,  
 as would admit neither superior  
 nor equal. In order to the disco-  
 very whereof, it will be necessa-  
 ry to enquire what was of  
 old the proper jurisdiction of the  
 Bishops of Rome, before they remo-  
 ved those antient Land-marks which  
 the Fathers had set. We have else-  
 where \* observ'd, ( what has  
 been remarkt by many, and in-  
 deed is evident to any one vers'd  
 in Church-antiquity) that in the  
 primitive times, the external  
 Polity of the Church was con-  
 form'd

\* *Prim. Chr.*  
*Part. 1. Ch. 8.*  
*p.* 227. *Edit.*  
*1. vid. Breer-*  
*woods Quar.*  
*1. & Berter.*  
*Pithan. fere*  
*per tot. alii-*  
*que.*

form'd as near as might be to the Mode that obtain'd in the civil State. Now the whole *Roman* Empire consisted of thirteen *Dioceses*, (for so they began to style those large Divisions about the time of *Constantine*,) whereof seven in the *Eastern* parts, *Egypt*, the *Orient*, or *East* properly so call'd, *Asiana*, *Pontica*, *Ihrace*, *Macedonia* and *Dacia*; and six in the *West*, *Italy*, *Afric*, *Illyricum*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; besides the *Roman* *Præfecture*, extending to the *Provinces* round about the *City*, which had anciently been a peculiar government, equal, yea superior in dignity to any *Diocess*; whereof hereafter. In each of these *Diocesses* were several *Provinces*, (118 in all) the chief *City* whereof in every *Province*, was the *Metropolis*, that had a kind of jurisdiction over all the rest; both

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both title and dignity being peculiarly settled by imperial constitution. Now the civil and Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were concurrent after this manner; in every City there was a civil Judge, who presided over it, and the Towns about it; and to him answered the Bishop of that City: in every Province a *Proconsul* or President resided at the Metropolis, govern'd that whole division; received appeals, and determined all important cases brought before him from the inferior Cities. Correspondent to him was the Metropolitan, or (as they after call'd him) the Archbishop, whose See was in the same City, who superintended the several Churches, and ordained the several Bishops within his Province. And then in every Diocess, there was a *Vicarius*  
or

or Lieutenant, who kept his residence in the principal City, thence dispatcht the Imperial Edicts, and there heard and decided those causes, that were not finally determin'd by inferiour Courts. And concurrent with him in Ecclesiastical matters was the Primate, or (as some of them were more eminently stiled) the Patriarch, who presided over the several Metropolitans within that Diocess, appointed the conventions of his Clergy, Umpir'd the differences that arose between the several Bishops, and gave the last determination to all Appeals brought before him. And thus by an orderly Subordination of Deacons and Presbyters to their Bishops, of Bishops to their immediate Metropolitans, of Metropolitans to their respective Primates or Patriarchs, and by a  
D mutual

mutual correspondence between the several Primates of every Diocess, the affairs of the Christian Church were carried on with great *decorum* and regularity.

VI. THIS excellent Platform was not fram'd and set up all at once. In the more early Ages Christianity being generally first Preacht and planted in the greater Cities, and the Ecclesiastical Government settled there, thence spread it self into the neighbouring Country, and persons were thence dispatcht to Preach and attend the Ministeries of Religion in those rural Plantations, who yet were in all things steer'd and directed by the Bishop and his Ecclesiastick Senate residing in the City. As Churches multiplied, and Christianity extended it self into wider

der circles, it was found necessary to fix a particular Bishop almost in every City, to whom was committed the care and superintendency over all the Clergy and people there, and in all the Towns and Villages belonging to the jurisdiction of that place. But because controversies began to arise between the several Bishops (and sometimes between them and the inferiour Clergy) which could not easily be determin'd, where every ones authority was independant, it was necessary that some one should preside over all the other Bishops of that Province, as the *Proconsul* did in the civil state, who might convene Synodical Assemblies, adjust the differences, and manage the Ordinations of the Provincial Bishops. And for this none could be so fit

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as he that resided in the Metropolis of the Province ( thence call'd *Metropolitan* ) partly because the Countries for the most part round about had originally derived their Christianity from thence, and 'twas but fit they should pay a peculiar respect to the Mother-church, partly because most persons had occasion to resort thither for the dispatch of business, and might with the same opportunity conveniently transact both their civil and Ecclesiastick matters, and partly because 'twas but reasonable, that the Bishop of so eminent a place should τῇ πρῇ προηγέσθαι, have an honourable presidency over the rest, as the Council of *Antioch* particularly provides \* in this case; Ordaining accordingly, that tho every Bishop might Ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and manage  
the

\* Can. 9.



the affairs of his own *παρομία*, or particular Diocess (as we now call it) yet that all the Bishops of the Province should acknowledge the Metropolitan, and attempt nothing of moment without his knowledge and consent; which they there enact, not as any Novel constitution, but *κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἢ μὴ καὶ νόνα* as they tell us, according to a most ancient Rule and Canon, that had been in force from the times of their fore-fathers. To the Metropolitan then upon every extraordinary occasion the Provincial Bishops addressed themselves, to him also other Metropolitans, such especially as lay nearest to him, were wont to send Letters of Communion, to testify their consent with him in the faith (a confession whereof every new

Metropolitan us'd to send abroad upon his advancement to his See) and mutually to consult each others advice in all important cases.

VII. THIS 'tis plain from the Writings of S. *Cyprian* and others, was the way of Administration during those first and most early Ages of Christianity: Private causes every Bishop judg'd of within his particular jurisdiction, where taking to him the assistance of his Clergy, his Presbyters and Deacons, they did *Communi Consilio ponderare*, \*weigh things by common advice and deliberation; where the case was of greater importance, or more general concernment, it was re-ferr'd to a provincial Synod, wherein the chief Bishop of the Province presided, and directed all affairs. Here the Ordination  
of

\* *Cypr. Epist.*  
xxxiii. p. 47.  
xxxii. p. 46.

of Bishops was usually perform'd, or where a Synod could not conveniently be had, by as many Bishops as could be got together, the rest \* who were absent by writing under their hands testifying their consent, and the whole either actually manag'd by, or at least done by the allowance and confirmation of the chief Bishop. Here also criminal Bishops were depos'd, and the same way of general suffrage observ'd : Thus when *Cornelius* and his Synod at *Rome* \* had condemn'd and cast out *Novatian* for his Schismatical Usurpation of that See, the Bishops that were not present at the Council, did by their Letters ratify and subscribe that Decree.

\* *Vid. Conc. Nic. Can. iv.*

\* *Cornel. Epist. ad Fab. Antioch. ap. Euf. l. 6. c. 43. p. 245.*

VIII. IN reference to the affairs of Churches abroad, they

D 4

acted

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acted by a kind of mutual conso-  
ciation, they communicated coun-  
cils, interpos'd in differences, op-  
pos'd th e same common enemies,  
and upon all occasions afforded  
ready help and assistance to one  
another, that *dilectio communis*, that  
Cyprian so often speaks of, \* the  
common bond of love and cha-  
rity obliging them to advise to-  
gether, that so by joynt consul-  
tations things might be carried  
on to the best advantage of Ec-  
clesiastick Administration. For  
they look'd upon themselves, he  
tells us, \* as members of the same  
Body of the Church, though  
stretcht out into many several  
Provinces, and that therefore  
they were bound to have care  
one of another, and to watch o-  
ver the welfare of the whole Bo-  
dy. Upon a Persons Election to  
any of the greater Sees, they  
were

\* *Epist. xxix.*  
p. 41.

\* *Epist. xxx.*  
p. 42.

were wont to send their congratulatory Letters, to give him joy of that place, to signify their concurrence with his advancement to a share of the Government of the Church, and their communion with him in the Faith. Thus *Cyprian* by Letters \* approv'd *Cornelius* his Election to the See of *Rome*, which he did, he tells us according to divine tradition and Ecclesiastick institution; nay he sent to all the Bishops of his Province, requiring them by their Letters to do the like. And when *Marcian* Bishop of *Arles* was depos'd for his siding with *Novatian*, *Cyprian* wrote \* to Pope *Stephen* to send him word who succeeded in that Bishoprick, that so he might know to whom to direct his communicatory Letters. When any person was duly Excommunicated in  
one

\* *Epist. xl.ii.*  
p. 56.

\* *Epist. lxxvii.*  
*infra.*

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\* *Epist.* LV.  
P. 78.

on Church, he could not be admitted to Communion in another. Thus when *Felicissimus*, who had been Excommunicated by *Cyprian* and the *African* Synod, fled to *Rome*, \* and came thither guarded with a potent faction, he found the doors shut against him, whereof *Cornelius* advis'd *Cyprian* by Letters, which the good man commends as replenisht with Brotherly Love, Ecclesiastick Discipline, and Episcopal censure. And when the Legats of *Novatian* ( who had procur'd himself to be irregularly Ordain'd Bishop of *Rome*, for which he was Synodically condemn'd ) came into *Africk*, *Cyprian* rejected them, \* and utterly refus'd to receive them to Communion.

\* *Epist.* xli.  
P. 55.

In short, no sooner did any extraordinary emergency arise, but

but notice was presently given of it to other Churches, and advice return'd what was fit to be done in those matters, and all possible assistance afforded towards the dispatching of them. In all which transactions the Bishop of Rome was no otherwise considered than (as all others were) as a Bishop of the Catholic Church, nor was his Sentence any more regarded than that of other Bishops. *Donatus à casis nigris* accus'd \* *Cecilian* Bishop of Carthage to *Constantine* the Great. The Emperour referr'd the case to Pope *Melchiades*, and three French Bishops, together with whom Assembled fifteen Bishops of Italy, who gave judgment against *Donatus*. Wherein as the Pope acted as the Emperours Delegate, and had no more power than the rest of his Collegues,

\* *Optat. l. 1. p. 27, &c. & Const. Epist. ad Melch. ap. Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. p. 391.*

# A Discourse of the

legues, so the sturdy *African* slight-  
ed his judgment, and appeal'd  
from it. *Constantine* hereupon re-  
fers the business to a Synod at  
*Arles* in *France*, Ann. CCCXIV.  
where the former sentence is a-  
gain brought under examination,  
and this thought no injury or  
dishonour to the Bishop of *Rome*,  
nay, his Legates in that Council  
subscribed only in the fifth place,  
\* as the subscriptions publisht by  
*Sirmoud* out of an Ancient Copy,  
stand at this day. In short, 'tis  
ingenuously confess'd by Pope  
*Pius* the second, \* then Cardi-  
nal, that before the time of the  
*Nicene* Council very little regard  
was had to the Church of *Rome*.  
By all which we see how the  
Government of the Church  
in those days was carried on;  
Bishops superintended the affairs  
of the Church in every City and  
its

\* *Vid. Conc.*  
*Tom. 1. col.*  
1428.

\* *Epist.*  
cclxxxii.  
p. 802.



its adjacent Territory, over them were Metropolitans and Provincial Synods, and with foreign Churches they transacted by a mutual agreement and confederation for the good of the whole, but without any coercive power over one another.

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## C H A P. II.

**The Government of the  
Church, and Power of  
the Bishops of Rome, as  
'tis represented in the  
Canons of the Nicene  
Council.**

*The Sixth Canon of the Synod of  
Nice set down, with the occasion  
of it. Seven Observations drawn  
from that Canon. I. That the  
larger bounds of Ecclesiastick ju-  
risdiction were the Roman Pro-  
vinces. A Province what. Whi-  
ther the Countries in Italy so cal-  
led. II. That the chief Church-  
Governour in every Province was  
the Metropolitan. The pru-  
dence and convenience of that way  
of*

of Government. Patriarchs prov'd not to be intended in the Nicene Canon. III. That the Bishop of Rome no less than the rest had his proper and limited Metropolitick power. This own'd by some of the greatest Champions of Rome. IV. That the Metropolitick Sees of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch were ever of the greatest note in the Christian Church, and of these Rome the chief. The eminency of Sees according to the greatness of the Cities wherein they were planted. This gave precedency to the Church of Rome. The three Sees of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch ascrib'd to S. Peter. Blasphemous things spoken of the Pope upon that account. Primacy allow'd to the See of Rome. No Supremacy belonging to it. The Christian Church then knew  
of

*A Discourse of the*  
of no such supereminent power.  
V. That the rights of the Roman Metropolitan were not due by any divine constitution, but by custome and the practice of the Church. This plainly shew'd to be the sence of this, and other following Councils. VI. That the Ordination of Provincial Bishops was one of the prime rights and priviledges of every Metropolitan within his own jurisdiction. The fourth, sixth and seventh Canons of this Council noted to that purpose. The same shew'd to be the determination of other Synods. What other rights belong'd to Metropolitans. VII. That this way of Ecclesiastick Administration was not any late novel institution, but founded upon ancient custome and practice. What this antiquity implies. The original of Metropolitans briefly enquir'd

quir'd into. Several instances of this way of Government noted in the second and third Centuries. The word Metropolitan not met with till the Council of Nice. But the thing long before. The Sum of the Observations upon this Canon.

**I**N this condition stood things at that time when the great Council Assembled at *Nice*, *An. CCCXXV.* where what had hitherto been transacted only by custome and mutual consent, became then a Law of the Church. For *Alexander* the venerable Bishop of *Alexandria* having complain'd to the Synod, that the Metropolitcal Rights of that See had been invaded by the irregular and ambitious attempts of *Meletius*, the Schismatical Bishop of *Lycopolis* in *Thebais*,  
E who

who during the late persecution had amongst other crimes taken upon him to Ordain Bishops, and to confer inferiour orders where-ever he came, the Synod did not only depose Meletius, and in a manner null his Ordinations, but pass'd among others this following Canon.

*Vid. Epiph.  
Heres. 68.  
p. 307. So-  
zom. l. 1. c.  
24. p. 438.*

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔστι κρατεῖται, τὰ  
ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πεντα-  
πόλῃ ὡς τὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπι-  
σκοπὸν πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν  
ἐξουσίαν. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ  
Ρώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τὰ τοῦ Ῥωμῆος  
ἐστίν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἀντιό-  
χειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχί-  
αις, τὰ πρεσβεία σώζονται ταῖς  
ἐκκλησίαις. καὶ ὅτι τὸ ὁρισθὲν  
ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἔστι χειρὶς ῥωμῆος τὸ  
μετ' ἐπολίτε γίνοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ  
πεισθῆναι ἢ μεγάλη Ῥωμῆος δεῖται  
μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐάν μὲν  
τοῦ τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ἡμεῶν ἐν-  
λόγου ἔσῃ, καὶ κατὰ καθόλου ἐκκλη-  
σιαστικόν, οὗτο ἢ πρὸς δι' οὐκείαν  
φιλονεικίαν ἀντιπλέγῃσι, κρα-  
τεῖται ἢ τῇ πεισθῆναι ἡμεῶν.  
Καν. 5.

**L** Et ancient customs  
still take place;  
those that are in Egypt,  
Libya and Pentapolis,  
that the Bishop of Ale-  
xandria have power o-  
ver all these; because  
such also is the custome  
of the Bishop of Rome.  
And accordingly in An-  
tioch, and in other Pro-  
vinces, let the privi-

ledges be preserved to the Churches.  
This also is altogether evident, that  
if

*if any man be made a Bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, this great Synod Decrees such a one to be no Bishop. And if two or three, out of a contentious humour, shall oppose the common election duly and regularly made according to the Canon of the Church, let the majority of voices in this case prevail.*

In this Canon, which has been the subject of infinite debate and controversie, there are several things very observable to our purpose, which every impartial unprejudicate Reader will see do naturally flow from it.

*First*, That the larger bounds of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at that time were concurrent with the Roman Provinces.

*Secondly*, That the chief Church Governour within every Province was the *Metropolitan*.

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*Thirdly*, That the Bishop of Rome no less than the rest had his proper and limited Metropolitick power.

*Fourthly*, That the Metropolitick Sees of *Rome, Alexandria* and *Antioch* were ever of greater note in the Christian Church, and of these *Rome* the chief.

*Fifthly*, That the rights of the *Roman* Metropolitan were not due by any Divine constitution, but flow'd only from Custome and the Practice of the Church.

*Sixthly*, That the Ordination of Provincial Bishops was one of the prime Rights and Priviledges of every Metropolitan within his own Jurisdiction.

*Seventhly*, That this way of Ecclesiastick Admiracion was not any late novel institution, but was founded upon ancient custome and practice.

All



All which Observations I shall briefly explain and make good.

I. *THAT* the larger bounds of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction were the Roman Provinces. Every City, besides what was within its Walls, and immedi-

*Territorium est universitas agrorum intra fines cujusque civitatis : quod ab eo dictum quidam aiunt quod magistratus ejus loci intra eos fines terrendi, id est, submovendi jus habet. l. 239. § 7. de verb. signific.*

ate Suburbs, had usually some adjacent Territory, whither its Government did extend, as Strabo \* notes of Nemausus or Nismes, a City of the Gallia Narbonensis, that it had under it twenty four Villages, all well peopled and inhabited, and so commonly in other places; and these were the Towns and Villages (*αἱ πόλεις καὶ χωρὰι*, as they are call'd in the ninth Canon of Antioch) that were under the superintendency and jurisdiction of the City-Bi-

\* *Geograph. l. 4. p. 186. vid. Plin. l. 3. c. 4. p. 39.*

shop. But a Province was a Collection of many Cities, with all the Tracts and Territories belonging to them; and was greater or less according to the custome of places, or as the will of Princes had set them out.

*Augustus* (as *Strabo* who lived about that time informs \* us) when he resolv'd to commit some parts of the Empire to the immediate care of the Senate, and to reserve the rest to himself, divided each moiety *εἰς πλείους ἐπαρχίας*, into several Provinces, and caus'd a *Rationarium* or Book to be made of it (this he did out of the Commentaries \* of *Balbus*, whom he had appointed to measure the several parts of the Empire :) Some account of these Provinces *Strabo* there gives us, but a more full and

\* *Lib. 17.*  
\* *p. 84.*

\* *Vid. J.*  
*Front. de Co-*  
*lon. inter scr.*  
*Rei Agr. à*  
*Goef. Edit.*  
*p. 141. frag.*  
*de Term. ib.*  
*p. 148.*

and particular account is given by *Dion Cassius*. \* How these Provinces stood divided in the following Ages, especially from the times of *Constantine*, is distinctly and accurately set down in the *Notitia Imperii*, compos'd under the reign of the younger *Theodosius*.

\* *Lib. 53. in vit. August.*

I observe no more then that if at *Augustus* his settlement (which is taken notice of, and objected by some \*) the Countries in *Italy* were not styl'd Provinces, but *Regions*, (he divided it says *Pliny* \* into eleven *Regions*; whence *Italy* and the Provinces, and *jus Italicum*, and *jus Provinciale* are frequently distinguished) yet this distinction held not long, nor universally, the words being promiscuously us'd, as is evident from the *Scriptores Rei agrariae* (some whereof if

\* *Sirmond. Censur. P. 1. c. 2. p. 10. Aleand. Refut. Conject. P. 1. c. 3. p. 25. \* Lib. 3. c. 5. p. 41.*

Front. ib. p.  
118. 123. &  
alibi.

\* Ib. p. 127.

|| Ib. p. 144.

\* Hyg. de li-  
mit. ib. p.

211.

their Titles bely them not, liy'd not long after *Augustus* his age) where we find more than once, the Territory of the Province of *Picenum*, as well as the Region of *Picenum*, the Province of *Apu- lia* and *Calabria* \*, of *Valeria* ||, of *Tuscia* \*, and the like. And for after ages, especially from the times of *Constantine*, no man can doubt of it, that has but once lookt either into the *Justi- nian*, or *Theodosian* Code.

II. THAT the chief Church- Governour within every Province was the Metropolitan, that is, the Bi- shop that resided in the *Metropo- lis*, or Mother-City of the Pro- vince. For as the preventing Schism and disorder had necessi- tated Provincial Bishops ( who being all equal had no power one over the other ) to chuse one common President to um-  
pire

pire and determine differences, and manage those affairs which could not be done by every single Bishop, so reason and conveniency, the example of the civil Government, and the greatness of the place, pleaded for the Bishop of the Metropolis to be the person, who hence deriv'd the title of Metropolitan. And this *Salmasius* \* himself, how ill a friend soever to the whole Episcopal Order, cannot but confess was wisely contriv'd, and that had but Metropolitans contain'd themselves within their proper bounds, there could not have been a more useful and laudable Institution. His business was upon all important occasions synodically to summon together the Bishops of his Province, and therein to enquire into their miscarriages and misdemeanors,

\* *Appar. ad  
Primat. pap.  
p. 273.*

Can. ix.

demeanors, to judg of the contentions that arose between them, to ordain persons to vacant Bishopricks, or at least to ratify their Ordination, and to direct all transactions that were of greater and more general concernment. Therefore the Fathers of *Antioch* take care, that forasmuch as all that have any business to dispatch, are forc'd to go to the Metropolis, therefore the Bishops in every Province should own, honour and give precedence to the Bishop that presided in the Metropolis, and attempt nothing of moment without his concurrence, and this according to a more ancient Canon derived to them from their Fore-fathers. By the *Ancient Canon* here spoken of cannot be meant this of *Nice*, which was but sixteen years before it,  
and

and therefore without doubt refers to the XXXIV. *Canon of the Apostles*, which almost in the same words commands the Bishops in every Nation to own him who is first or chief amongst them, and to esteem him as Head, and to do nothing of moment without his consent, which truly expresses the ancient practice of the Church; these *Apostolick Canons* being nothing else but a collection of Rules and Customs agreed upon in the first ages of Christianity. For (that I may note this by the way) 'tis vain to think, that a thing then first began to be, when we find it first mention'd or enjoyn'd by a Synodal Decree; the Canons in such cases being very oft expressive of a more ancient practice, which they then take notice of, or enforce,

force, only because some extraordinary accidents at that time may have given particular occasion for it. As here at *Nice*, in the case of the Rights of Metropolitans, which the Canon mentions and resettles, only because *Meletius's* usurpation had brought it into question. It had been long before an ancient custome, and having lately received some little shock, the Church no sooner had an opportunity of meeting together in a general Council, but it establisht these Metropolitall priviledges by its Oecumenical Authority. There are, I know, and they too men of no mean name and note, both heretofore and of later times, who tell us, that this *Nicene Canon* is to be understood not of *Metropolitans*, but *Patriarchs*: But where



where does the Council say, or so much as hint any such thing, the Synod both here and in all other places constantly calls them *Metropolitans*, and makes the bounds of their jurisdiction to be *Provinces*, not *Diocesses*. And indeed the word *Diocese*, as relating to this extent of Ecclesiastick Government, was not in use till above an intire age after. Nay perhaps at this time it was scarce in use for the larger division of Countries in the civil state : For it was but about this time that *Constantine* new modell'd the Government, and brought in *Dioceses* as comprehending several *Provinces* under them.

So that either here must be *Patriarchs* without *Dioceses*, or if the Canon be meant (as some explain it) of *Metropolitani Metro-*  
poli-

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*politanorum*, of some prime and  
 principal Metropolitans, that  
 presided over the Metropolitans  
 of the several Provinces within  
 their jurisdiction, then 'tis plain  
 the Synod must intend such  
 wherever it mentions Metro-  
 politans, for it all along speaks  
 of them as of the same. In the  
 fourth Canon it provides, that  
 in every Province a Bishop Or-  
 dain'd shall be confirm'd by the  
 Metropolitan; which is necessa-  
 rily to be restrain'd to proper  
 provincial Metropolitans. In this  
 sixth Canon it speaks more par-  
 ticularly, and because the Me-  
 tropolitick rights had been in-  
 vaded in *Egypt*, Ordains that the  
 Bishop of *Alexandria*, no less than  
 he of *Rome*, and that he of *An-  
 tiogh*, and the Churches in all  
 other Provinces should still en-  
 joy their ancient priviledges.  
 Where

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Where we see it speaks of them all without any difference in this respect as provincial Churches. And thus the ancient Version of this Canon (whereof more hereafter) understood it, when it rendred it thus, *in cæteris provinciis privilegia propria reserventur Metropolitanis Ecclesiis*, that at *Antioch*, and in the other Provinces, the Metropolitan Churches should have their own privileges.

And to put the case out of doubt what the Council meant, the Canon adds in the close, that no Bishop should be made without the consent of the Metropolitan. Nothing therefore can be more absurd, than to say, that Patriarchs are meant in the former part of the Canon, and Metropolitans only in the latter, when as the Canon it self makes  
no

no difference. And indeed were that the meaning, the grave and wise Fathers of that Council took an effectual course that posterity should never understand their mind. If we look into the following Canon, that secures the rights of the Metropolitan Church of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and though it grants the next place of honour to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, yet still it subjects him to his own Metropolitan. And I suppose it will puzzle any man to give a wise reason, why the Church of *Jerusalem* (for which the Christian World ever had so great and so just a veneration) should be subject to that of *Cæsarea*, but only that *Cæsarea* was the Metropolis of that Province, and so had been ever since the time of *Vespasian*, and accordingly

*Josephus*

Josephus says \* 'twas the greatest City in the Country, and Tacitus \* calls it the head of Judæa. So miserably does Alexander Aristinus blunder in his Exposition of this Canon, when by virtue of it he makes the Bishop of Jerusalem to become a Patriarch, and yet withal to be subject to the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, or, which is all one, that the Metropolitan of Cæsarea should not hereby lose his ancient power and dignity. As if any Patriarch, and much more one of the five greater, could be subject to a private Metropolitan, or a Metropolitan could have his ancient rights reserv'd to him, when at the same time a considerable part of them are taken from him. But Patriarchs were not then heard, or so much as dreamt of in the Church; no-

\* De bell. Jud. l. 3.  
cap. xii. p. 854.  
\* Hist. l. 2.  
p. 359.

F thing

\* *In Can. II.*  
*Council. C P.*  
*p. 83.*

thing being truer than what *Balsamon* has observ'd \* in this case, that anciently all the *Metropolitans* of *Provinces* were *αὐτοκέφαλοι*, absolute and independent, and Ordain'd by none but their own *Provincial Bishops*.

III. *THAT* the *Bishop* of *Rome* no less than the rest had his proper and limited *Metropolitcal Power*. This is so evidently the sense of the *Canon*, that few, who have otherwise Will good enough, have yet the hardiness to oppose it. The Sun it self is not clearer at Noon-day, than that hereby the *Council* design'd, that the *Bishop* of *Alexandria* should have the same power within his *Province*, that the *Bishop* of *Rome* had in his. Let the *Bishop* of *Alexandria* (says the *Canon*) have all his ancient  
and

and accustomed powers and privileges in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, ἐπειδὴ, since, or forasmuch as the Bishop of Rome has the like Custom, that is, (as a learned and zealous Champion \* for the Popes Supremacy does yet with great ingenuity expound it) “that he and none but he should “exercise Jurisdiction within his “own bounds; as the *Alexandrian* Bishop has prescrib’d limits “to his Diocess; so also has he “of Rome: And as he of Rome “manages the affairs of his own “Diocess without the interposal “or meddling of any other person, so we Will that he of *Alexandria* shall have the same “power, and that none shall “obstruct him in the exercise “of it.

\* *L. Allat. de consens. Eccles. Orient. & Occid. l. 1. c. 12. N. 4. p. 190.*

The Canon then makes a double comparison between

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these two Metropolitans, the one respecting the extent of their Jurisdiction, that one was confin'd and limited as well as the other; the other the fulness of their power, which they might exercise within their respective limits, and that none might presume to invade or hinder it, but by the same Right by which the Roman Prelate Govern'd his Churches, by the same might he of Alexandria the Churches subject to him.

\* *Alex. Arist.*  
*in loc.*

One of the Greek Scholiasts \* Summs up the Canon into these words. *Let the Bishop of Alexandria have power over Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis: And the Roman Bishop over those places that are subject to Rome. Har-menopulus* \* expresses it in somewhat more general terms: *Let the ancient customes of Arch-Bishops still*

\* *Epit. Can.*  
*Secl. I. Tit. I.*  
*in Jur. Gr.*  
*Rom. p. 1.*



*still prevail, and every one have power over his own Province. I enquire not now what were the peculiar bounds, within which the Power of the Bishops of Rome was terminated. 'Tis enough at present, that whether larger or narrower, limits he had, which he might not regularly pass, and that the Church of Rome was in those days accounted a particular Church, and as much a Member of the Church Universal, as Alexandria, Antioch, or that of any other Province.*

IV. *THAT the Metropolitick Sees of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, were ever of greatest note in the Christian Church, and of these Rome the chief. Hence they are here particularly named, while others are dismiss'd with an Et cætera, and Rome as the most eminent, made the Exemplar according*

ding to which the Rights of *Alexandria* were to be recovered and resettled. 'Twere impertinent to shew that respect was always paid to places proportionable to their Temporal power and greatness ; S. Cyprian \* long since told us, that the reason why *Rome* had the precedency of *Carthage*, was *pro magnitudine sua*, because 'twas the greater City. And 'twere as endless as 'tis needless to prove, that the places mention'd in this Canon were Capital Cities of the Empire : *Rome* was *μντερόπολις* & *Ῥωμανίας* ( as *Athanasius* styles \* it ) the Metropolis, or chief City of the *Roman* World, it had for several Ages been the Governing City, and was still the Seat of Empire, the greatness whereof the Geographical Poet \* has no less briefly

\* *Epist. XLIX.*  
p. 63.

\* *Epist. ad*  
*solit. p. 644.*

\* *Dionys. de*  
*script. Orb.*  
*vers. 355.*  
p. 8.

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ly than Elegantly thus summ'd  
up.

Ῥώμη πρῆσται, δ' ἐμὴς μέγας οἶκος ἀνά-  
κτων,

Μήτηρ πασῶν πολιῶν, ἀφνειὸν ἔδεδλον.

Rome triumphs in th' Imperial Seat,  
and is

Wealth's Store-house, and the World's  
Metropolis.

Alexandria besides the vastness of  
the place, numerousness of its  
inhabitants, the riches and plen-  
ty of its Traffick, was the Seat  
of the Imperial Vice-roy, call'd  
the *Augustal Prefect*: Indeed it

was δδπρεα τοῦ ἡλίου, \* the  
second City under the Sun, that  
is, μεγίστη μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, as *Aristides*

\* styles it, the greatest next to  
Rome; and thence by ancient

\* *Dion.Orat.*  
xxxii.(ad A-  
lex.) p.362

\* *Orat. in*  
*Rom. p. 358*  
*Tom. 1.*

F 4

Writers

\* *Alexand.*  
*ap. Eustath.*  
*comment. in*  
*Homer. Ili-*  
*ad. β. Ste-*  
*phan. in v.*  
*Alexand. β.*

\* *Can. ix.*

Writers \* emphatically call'd  
 THE CITY. *Antioch* was fre-  
 quently the Court of Emperors,  
 constantly the residence of their  
 Lieutenants, the most ancient,  
 rich and populous City of the  
*East*, commonly styl'd *Antioch*  
*the Great*: Now the greatness  
 of these places added a propor-  
 tionable reputation to their se-  
 veral Bishops, it being but rea-  
 sonable that they should τῇ τιμῇ  
 προηγούμενοι (as the Fathers at *Anti-*  
*och* speak \*) precede others in  
 honour, who presid'd in the  
 most eminent and honourable  
 Cities.

And because *Rome* was con-  
 fessedly the greatest and noblest  
 City of the Empire, hence the  
 Church there had an honourary  
 precedence before all others, and  
 the Bishops of it in all publick  
 meetings and consultations had  
 the

the first place allowed them, and upon all occasions a mighty deference and respect paid to them, and their favour was courted, and Addresses made to them from all parts. And in this sence 'tis plain the ancients understood the honour due to the *Roman Bishop*. When the Council of *Constantinople* decrees, \* that the Bishop of that City \* *Can. ii.* shall have the next place to him of *Rome*, for that *Constantinople* was new *Rome*, it sufficiently shews upon what foundation the precedency of the *Roman* Prelate stood. And that of *Chalcedon* \* much more expressly, \* *Can. xxviii.* that the cause why the Fathers gave privileges to the See of old *Rome* was, because that was the Imperial City.

τί διὰ τούτων μνημονεύει; ( *sc.* *κεν. γ. συνόδ. κωνσταντ.* ) καὶ *κεν. κη. τῆς πρώτης συνόδ.* ) τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἢ τὸ μὴτε παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων δοξάζειν τὴν πόλιν τὴν πρῶτον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι \* *Ῥώμην*, \* πόλιν βασιλεύουσάν τε παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὡς πρώτην

And

ὁ κενὸν δίδωσι τῷ πᾶσι τὰ  
πρεσβήα, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν  
τὸ πᾶσι ἐκείνῳ. εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ  
βασιλεύειν τὸ πᾶσι ἐκείνῳ,  
ἔχει τὰ πρεσβήα, ἔκ αὐτοῦ ἔχει  
τὰ πᾶσι, διὰ τὸ ὅτι Πέτρος διὰ  
δοχῆς εἰς τὸ εἶ πατρὸς πατέρων  
τοῦτο ἔχει, ἔκ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ  
ποστόλου. Nilus Thassalon. lib.  
πρὸς τὴν τὴν πᾶσι ἀρχὴν, p. 8.  
Edit. Græc. vid. Barlaam κατ. α.  
p. 26.

\* Διδάτῃ. ρλα. p. 374. fac. 2.  
Edit. Græc.

|| *L. Allat. ib. c. 2. N. 6,*  
*7, &c. p. 12, &c. Morin. ex-*  
*ercit. Eccles. l. 1. exerc. 1.*  
*p. 9.*

And in pursuance of  
these Canons (καὶ τὸς  
αὐτῶν ὅρους) the Empe-  
rour *Justinian* enacts,  
\* that the Bishop of  
old Rome should be  
πρῶτος πάντων τῶν ἱερέων,  
the first of all Bi-  
shops.

I know there are,  
|| who place the E-  
minency of these three  
great Sees upon ano-

ther bottom, and tell us it was,  
because they were all founded  
by S. Peter, two of them by  
himself, and that of *Alexandria*  
by the Ministry of S. Mark his  
peculiar Disciple, sent thither  
by his immediate direction and  
authority: And the assertion fur-  
ther improv'd, that these three  
Cities being severally the chief  
Cities of the three then known  
parts

parts of the World, *Europe, Asia* and *Africa*, thence it follows that the Government of these three great Churches, and in them of the whole Christian World is lodg'd in S. *Peters* Successour, and 'tis added \* (with greater boldness shall I say, or blasphemy ? ) that S. *Peter* herein exprest a lively representation both of the Unity of the God-heads, and of the Holy Trinity, and that as 'tis but one and the same Episcopal Office that is in a Bishop, a Metropolitan, and a Patriarch, so a Trinity of Patriarchs meets in the Unity of the Pope; *so that in the See of the Prince of the Apostles, there is an Unity in Trinity, and a Trinity in Unity.* But where Men can suffer their wits wantonly to sport at this rate ( though 'tis gravely brought in by way  
of

\* *Morin. ib.*  
*p. 8. 11. vide*  
*sis etiam Hi-*  
*eron. Aleand.*  
*de Region.*  
*Suburb. dis-*  
*sert. 11. c. 2.*  
*p. 90.*

\**Vit. I. Memorin.* p. 5. 7.

of Argument, by some otherwise learned enough) 'tis no wonder, that nothing should be stuck at, true or false, that may serve their cause. But I spare any farther censure of this Authour, finding by his life \* (published since the Writing of these Papers) that he repented afterwards of so hasty and inconsiderate an undertaking, and oft intended to have brought that work under a review and castigation. And indeed any Man may at first sight discern 'twas the issue of a Juvenile heat, and wanted the corrections of calmer and maturer thoughts.

But perhaps it might prove no such easie task to make it out that *S. Peter* founded these three Sees, and if he did, that any such authority as is claim'd, is thence deriv'd to the See of  
Rome.



*Rome.* *Antioch* and *Alexandria* did always maintain their Jurisdiction Independent, though the Popes frequently inculcated their being originally Instituted by *S. Peter*, as a kind of obligation to *Rome*, and that which reflected the greatest honour upon those Churches. And the Fathers we see found their preheminance upon the Glory and Majesty of their Cities, and none more expressly than that of *Rome*, the Bishop whereof was therefore honoured, caress'd and address'd unto, because Bishop of *Rome*. And had he contented himself with that place and deference which the Fathers gave him, and not broken down Inclosures, and trampled over the Heads of his Brethren, we should neither have envied, nor denied it. And though perhaps  
it

it might admit some dispute, whether *Rome* having for so many Ages lost the honor of being the Imperial City, the Privileges conferr'd upon that Church, upon that account, ought not in reason to abate proportionably; yet we are willing to grant, what genuine Antiquity did allow, that the Bishop of that place containing himself within Primitive Rules and Orders, should be esteem'd the most honourable among all Christian Bishops, that he should be first, but not Lord, much less Tyrant over his Brethren. The Priviledges assign'd him by the ancient Canons, were τιμὴς πρεσβεία, ἡ μόνιμος αὐθεντία *as τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος* (says a late learned Patriarch of *Alexandria* \*) Priviledges of honour, not conveyances of a Tyrannical power to make or abrogate Laws as he pleases. And

\* *Metet. Alex.*  
*ἐκ τῆς β'. αἰ.*  
*τῆς 78 πρὸς τὴν 84*  
*ἡμ. σ. 14.*

And therefore suppose the *πρῶτη*, the Primacy of the Church of *Rome* (mention'd in the beginning of this sixth *Nicene Canon*, as 'tis quoted by *Paschasius* the Popes Legate in the Council of *Chalcedon*) were granted, yet who knows not that there is a Primacy of Order as well as Power, a Primacy amongst equals; and such 'tis plain was that which the ancient Councils did assign him, not an Universal, Monarchical, uncontrollable Power and Supremacy over the whole Christian Church, which would have fundamentally destroy'd the very design of this *Nicene Canon*, which makes the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, the other Provinces, independent, and as supream within their own limits, as the Pope is in his.

Is

## A Discourse of the

Is there no difference between Precedency and Supremacy, between Dignity and Dominion? Let the *Roman Church* be the *Head of all Churches* (as 'tis sometimes styl'd by the Ancients, and frequently challeng'd by the Popes) 'tis so only in an honourary sence, and in that respect o-ther Churches, especially that of

\* *Constantinople*, have the same title given to them. Where then shall we find the Sovereign, Arbitrary, and unbounded Power of the Bishop of *Rome*? and where, but in the pride, ambition and Usurpation of that See? certain I am it has not the least footing in this or any other ancient Council.

\* *Constanti-*  
*nopolitana*  
*Ecclesia om-*  
*nium alia-*  
*rum est ca-*  
*put. Lib. 1.*  
*Cod. Just.*  
*Tit. 11. l. 24.*

Nor can it be suppos'd, that had the Fathers of this venerable Synod known of any such supereminent Power of the *Roman Bishop*,

Bishop, as is now pretended to ( and know it they must, if there had been any, meeting from all parts of the World ) we cannot suppose, I say, they would have given the Bishops of *Alexandria, Antioch, &c.* equal Power within their respective Provinces, without inserting into the Canon a *Salvo* to the Supreme Rights and Prerogatives of the See of Rome, especially when we find them in the very next Canon, giving the Bishop of *Jerusalem* an honourable Session, but still with a *Proviso* to preserve the Rights of the Metropolitan of that Province.

V. *T H A T* the Rights of the Roman Metropolitan were not due by any Divine Constitution, but flow'd only from Custome and the practice of the Church. This is  
G here

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here laid down as one of the main foundations upon which the whole Body of the Canon is built, the Rights here convey'd not being Divine Institutions, but ἀρχαία ἔθνη, *ancient Customs*, introduc'd by time and use and a wise contrivance. Which is not only the case of Metropolitans in general, but is particularly applied to him of Rome, it being (says the Canon) *the custome for the Bishop of Rome to have such Metropolitick Power.*

Had these good Fathers known of any peculiar Commission given by Christ to Peter, and in him to the Bishop of Rome, to be his Supream and Universal Bishop upon Earth, to Govern his Church by a despotical unaccountable power, or that our Lord had but so much as authorized and appointed

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ed him to be Superiour to all the Bishops within the *Roman* Province, it had been hard, not to say unjust and unreasonable in them to conceal it, and an irreparable injury to that Church, to derive its authority from any meaner original. An injury, which we cannot conceive but that the Popes Legates, who were then in Council, must have immediately entered their Protest against. But the Christian World was as yet unacquainted with such Notions, and the Popes then either did not claim any such power, or to be sure durst not challenge it in that Assembly, where they knew it must be shamefully baffled and rejected.

What Power soever our Lord or his Apostles convey'd to Bishops, this is certain, that all

Bishops as such stand upon a common level, and that Superiority and Subordination among them is meerly from humane positive Institution, borrowed from the Forms in the civil state, and with great reason brought in to comply with the conveniencies and necessities of the Church. And to this the Fathers usually refer it. Thus we see they here determined the case of Metropolitans. And in the following Canon the Bishop of *Jerusalem's* taking place next to his Metropolitan before all the other Bishops of that Province, is ascrib'd to custome, and ancient tradition. In the Council of *Ephesus* the Bishop of *Antioch* was complain'd of for invading the Rights of the Metropolitan of *Cyprus*, in deciding whereof the Fathers affirm,



firm, \* it would be sufficient  
 prejudice to his cause, if he  
 had not ancient custome on his  
 side: And having determin'd  
 the case against him, decree,  
 That every Province should en-  
 joy those original Rights pure  
 and inviolable, which had been  
 deriv'd to them by long con-  
 tinuance, καὶ τὸ πάλαι κρατῆσθαι ἐδος,  
 according as the power of ancient  
 custome had prevail'd. And when  
 some years after by reason of  
 the Incurfions of the barbarous  
 people, the Metropolitan of Cy-  
 prus was forc't to remove to Nova  
 Justinianopolis in the Hellefpont,  
 the Fathers of the fixt Council  
 in Trullo confirm'd \* his rights  
 to him, καὶ ὡς ἀρχαῖαν συνήθειαν, ac-  
 cording to ancient custome: For the  
 Holy Fathers (say they) have de-  
 termin'd, that Customs should  
 be preserv'd in every Church.

\* Concil.  
 Ephes.  
 Can. viii.

\* Can. xxxix

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VI. *THAT* the Ordination of Provincial Bishops was one of the prime Rights and Priviledges of every Metropolitan within his own Jurisdiction. No Man in those days was bound to go beyond his own Metropolis, much less did they know of any obligation to seek to Rome either for Consecration, or Confirmation. And for this the Laws of the Church are as expresse and peremptory as words could make them. Our great Council had made Provision herein by their fourth Canon, that a Bishop should be Ordain'd by all the Bishops in the Province: But because pershaps business, or distance, might render that inconvenient, and sometimes impossible, they decree that it should be done by three, the rest testifying their consent in writing; and that the *πὸ πάντων*

*ἔψη*

ἡ δὲ γνησιότης, the validity of what was done, should be from the Confirmation of the Metropolitan in every Province.

And because the case of *Meletius* was then before them, and had rais'd a mighty noise and clamour, they again establish this matter in the close of the sixth Canon by way of recapitulation, that whoever should be made Bishop without the consent of his Metropolitan, his Ordination should be null and void, and that if any doubt and dispute arose in this case, the majority of Votes should carry it: Accordingly in their Synodical Epistle \* to the Church of *Alexandria* they tell them, they had taken care about the Election of their Bishops, and that it must be with the Concurrence and Confirmation

\* *Ap. Theod.*  
*l. i. c. 6. p. 31.*

## A Discourse of the

of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. This Constitution we find unanimously ratified by almost all following Councils ; by that of *Antioch* (a) most expressly, by that of *Laodicea* (b), by that of *Sardica* (c), by the *Second* (d) and *Fourth* (e) Councils of *Carthage*, by the general Council of *Chalcedon* (f), who take notice of the neglect of some Metropolitans in delaying the Ordinations of their Provincial Bishop ; and in the particular controversy between *Anastasius* of *Nice*, and *Eunomius* of *Nicomedia* (g), they all with one voice ratify the *Nicene Canon*.

(a) *Can. xix.*(b) *Can. xii.*(c) *Can. vi.*(d) *Can. xii.*(e) *Can. i.*(f) *Can. xxv.*(g) *Conc.**Chalced. Act.**xiii. col. 715.*

In all which Canons, and infinite more that might be mention'd, there is not the least intimation given of any Prerogative peculiar to the Bishop of *Rome*, or that he has any power

to take this Right out of the hands of the respective Metropolitans. Nor is Ordination the only Priviledge which the Synod of *Nice* vests in Metropolitans, for though they more particularly insist upon this, because *Meletius* had given such fresh occasion by violating the Metropolitan Rights of *Alexandria*, yet in the beginning of the sixth Canon they establish their Priviledges in general, that they should have πάντων τούτων ἐξουσίαν, and the τὰ πρεσβεία τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, all the ancient Powers and Priviledges that belong'd to their Churches in every Province.

What these were, practice and the subsequent *Canons* of the Church do inform us; to take care that vacant Sees were well supplied, to call Provincial Synods, to disperse *Canons* there agreed on for

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for the common good, to end controversies between their Bishops, to admonish the unruly, to censure and suspend the irregular, to give communicatory Letters to their Provincial Bishops that were to go into foreign parts, and such like. In short, the Synod of *Antioch* (than which perhaps none ever made wiser and better Rules for the Government and Discipline of the Church) order \* the Bishops of every Province not only to honour their Metropolitan, but to do nothing of moment without his consent.

\* *Can. ix.*

*Lastly, I observe hence, That this way of Ecclesiastick Administration was not any late Novel Institution, but was founded upon ancient custome and practice. 'Twas ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, says the Canon most expressly. How far this Antiquity*

quity does extend, it is not easie precisely to determine. *Salmasius* \* himself grants it for an hundred years before the Synod of *Nice*: And we would not have thankd him for a larger concession, had the state of things before that Council been as clearly transmitted to us, as they were afterwards. Indeed the Records and Writings of those early Ages are generally lost, and the defending Christianity from the assaults of Heathens on the one side, and Hereticks on the other, take up the far greatest part of those few that remain. So that little light is afforded us to discover the Originals of particular Churches, and to trace out the gradual advances of Polity and Church-Discipline. Whether the Apostles themselves fixt a Superior

\* *De primat.*  
c. 4 p. 57.

riour Bishop in every Metropolis of the civil State, as some will have it; or whether the Apostles only form'd the Scheme and draught, but left it to following Ages to erect and set it up, as *de Marca* \* thinks, I leave it to the Reader, who is curious about these matters, to weigh their arguments, and then pass his Sentence.

\* *De Concord. l. 6. c. 1. n. 9. p. 176.*

To me it seems probable that it actually commenc'd not long after the Apostolick Age, when Sects and Schisms began to break in apace, and when the Apostles who were the supream Governours and Moderators being remov'd off the Stage, and controversies multiplying between particular Bishops, it was found necessary to pitch upon one in every Province, to whom the Umpirage of cases might be refer'd,



ferr'd, and by whom all common and publick affairs might be directed.

In the declining part of the second Century we find Philip styl'd \* not only Bishop of the Diocese of Gortyna, ( τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ παρικῇ Γόρτυνῳ ) but also of all the rest of the Churches or Dioceses ( παρινίαι ) in Crete, among which Pinytus is reckon'd Bishop of the *Parochia* of *Gnossus*. Towards the latter end of the same Century we find several Provincial Synods conven'd for determining the *Paschal* contro- versie \* : Pope *Victor* presided in that at *Rome*; in that of *Pa- lestine*, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Casa- rea*, and *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*; where *Narcissus* is joyn'd with *Theophilus*, because the Bishop of *Jerusalem* had ever the place of honour next to his Metro- politan

\* *Epist. Dia-  
nyf. Corinth.  
Episc. ap.  
Euf. l. 4.  
c. 23. p. 144.*

\* *Euseb. H.  
Eccl. l. 5.  
c. 23. p. 190.*

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politan of *Cæsarea*, and this (say our *Nicene Fathers*) from custome and ancient tradition. *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, at the request of *Victor* summon'd a Synod of the Bishops of *Asia* (i.e. of the *Lydian* or *Proconsular Asia*, whereof *Ephesus* was the *Metropolis*) wherein he was president, who all subscrib'd his opinion, as he tells us in his Letter to Pope *Victor*. In *France* there was a convention  $\approx \text{καὶ τῶν Γαλιλίων περιούτων}$ , of the Bishops of the several *Gallick Dioceses*, wherein *Irenæus* Bishop of the *Metropolis* of *Lyons* was chief Moderator. *Bacchylus* also Bishop of *Corinth* (that was a *Metropolis* too) held a Synod of the Bishops of *Achaia* (if *S. Jerome* \* understand *Eusebius* aright) and in their name wrote an Epistle about this matter. This the

\* *De Script.*  
in *Bacchyl.*  
c. 44.

the Author of the Ancient Synodicon \* calls a Provincial Synod, and expressly styles *Bacchylus* Arch-bishop of *Corinth*. How oft does *S. Cyprian* \* mention his Province, and his Fellow-Bishops in it, to whom he communicated affairs of the Church, and commanded (*Mandavimus* is his own word) their help and assistance : and this Province no mean one neither, as extending over *Africk* properly so call'd, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritania's*.

\* *A Pappo*  
edit. p. 7.

\* *Vid. Epist.*  
XLii. p. 56.  
XLV. p. 59.

Nor can I see any reason with *Salmasius* \* to understand it of the civil Province, especially when the best reason he gives, is, that the Power of Primates or Metropolitans was not yet in force, which is a plain and shameful begging of the Question. Indeed if he means it only of the

*Loc. citat.*

*A Discourse of the*

the Title, by which they were call'd , I grant that the word *Metropolitan* is very rarely , if perhaps at all, to be found in any Authentick Writer before the time of the *Nicene Council* : They were in those days styl'd *πρῶτοι ἐπίσκοποι*, and *κεφαλαι*, the *first Bishops* , and the *Heads of Provinces*, (as is plain from the *XXXIV. Apostolick Canon* ) i. e they were οἱ τῶν μητροπόλεων ἀρχιερεῖς, the chief Bishops that resided in the several *Metropoles* , as *Zonaras* truly expounds that Canon. But whatever becomes of the Title, the thing it self is plain to all that are not byass'd by prejudice and partiality, that there was a *Superiour Bishop* in every Province, resident at the *Metropolis*, who partly by himself, partly by the assistance of his *Provincial Bishops* meeting  
in

in Council, usually manag'd all the more important Church-affairs within that Province.

The Sum in short of this great *Nicene* Canon amounts to this That the greater limits of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction were concurrent with the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, that the prime Governours within those bounds were the *Metropolitans*, and though some were more honourable than others, by reason of the eminency of their Episcopal Stations, yet that every Metropolitan had a free and independent power of Ordination, and steering the main affairs of the Church within that Province; that the Bishop of *Rome* had the same, and no more within the *Roman* Province; a Power not granted by any immediate commission,

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*A Discourse of the*  
 or Divine authority, but introduced for conveniency, and settled by custome and long continuance.

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### CHAP. III.

The extent of the Bishop of *Rómes* Jurisdiction, considered as a Metropolitan.

*A Search into the proper bounds of the Roman Bishop. His Power Four-fold, Episcopal, Metropolitick, Patriarchal, Apostolick. The First not controverted. The last discharg'd as extravagant and groundless, and as frequently baffled, both by the Reformed, and Greek Church. L. Al-*  
*latius's*

latus's Feet of his Countrymen. His Metropolitick Jurisdiction considered as concurrent with that of the Provost of Rome. That how great, and how far extending. The Suburbicary Regions what. Sicily no part of the Urbicary Regions. The usual conformity between the extent of the Civil and Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction in those times. The Power of the Roman Metropolitan confin'd within an Hundred Miles of Rome. Rufinus his Exposition of the Suburbicary Churches. Greatly quarrell'd at by the Romish Writers. His authority in other cases allow'd sufficient and unquestionable. His Book approv'd by Pope Gelasius and others. No probability of his being mistaken in the sence of the Canon, or the extent of

*A Discourse of the  
the Roman Metropolitanship,  
or the Suburbicary Churches.  
His Explication confirm'd  
by most ancient Interpreters of  
this Canon. The Bishops of  
Rome and Italy distinct. The  
Bishop of Milan ranckt with him  
of Rome. The objection of the  
Bishop of Romes being confin'd  
to so narrow a compass, consi-  
dered and answered. The Ma-  
jores Diocesess in the Epistle of  
the Synod of Arles what. The  
bounds of the Roman Bishops  
shew'd to have been heretofore  
small from an ancient Notitia  
Episcopatum. The fraud in  
the first publication of that No-  
titia. Morinus noted. The  
greatness of Rome equivalent to  
a large extent.*

I. THUS



I. **T**HUS far then we have gain'd; that the Bishop of *Rome* as well as the rest was bounded within his Metropolitcal Province; the Council supposing this as the ground of its constitution, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should have jurisdiction over all within his Province, as the Bishop of *Rome* had in his. 'Tis true, the Council does not assign the proper limits of the *Roman* Metropolitanship, as it does that of *Alexandria*, there being a more particular reason why it should specify the latter, that being the Subject under debate, and the main, if not only occasion of the Canon; we must therefore search it out some other way.

\* *L. Allat. ib.*  
c. 8. n. 1. p.  
158.  
*Filesac. de*  
*S. Episc. au-*  
*tor. c. 9. §. 3.*  
p. 225.

\* *Bellarmin. de*  
*R. Pont. l. 2.*  
c. 18. col. 659  
*Aleand. de*  
*reg. suburb.*  
*Part. II. c. 4.*  
p. 142. *Sir-*  
*mond. Cen-*  
*sur. P. II. c. 5.*  
p. 76.

And here we are told \* of a  
Three-fold power vested in the  
Pope; *Episcopal, Patriarchal, and*  
*Apostolical*; or as others \* distin-  
guish a little more accurately,  
he may be considered under a  
Four-fold capacity, as a Bishop,  
as a Metropolitan, as a Patri-  
arch, and lastly as Pope, or as  
he is the Vicar of Christ, and  
Head of the Universal Church.  
In which capacity he is not on-  
ly more honourable than all  
other Bishops and Patriarchs,  
but has full authority over  
them, to consecrate, confirm,  
or depose them, yea when he  
pleases, to suppress old, and to  
erect new Episcopal Sees. Here-  
by (they tell us) he is consti-  
tuted Judge over all Churches  
in the World, and may at plea-  
sure visit, govern, and give  
Laws to them. For the First  
of

of these, as he is a private Bishop, we have no controversie with him: And for the last, his Supreme and Apostolical power over the whole Christian Church; 'tis so wild and extravagant a claim, so groundless and precarious, so utter a stranger to Scripture and Primitive Antiquity, that it's needless to take pains in the refuting of it. Nay, the Popes themselves how desirous soever to amplify their own Power, have not yet dar'd to challenge it where they knew it would be disputed or denied. In the discourse that past between *Constantius* and Pope *Liberius* about the condemnation of *Athanasius*, the Emperour askt him,

\* πῶς εἰ μέντοι ἡ οἰκουμένη, what great part of the World are you, that you only should take his part?

\* *Ap. Theod.*  
l. 2. c. 16.  
p. 94.

H 4

and

and that ( as he urges a little before ) when the whole World had past Sentence upon him. The proper answer to which ( had *Liberius* known of any such power ) had been this. I only am intrusted by Christ with Supream Authority over the whole Church, and I having acquitted him, 'tis no matter though the whole World besides has condemn'd him. And so no doubt he would have answered, had he been aware of any such Prerogative affixt to his See. But Popes had not then set this claim on foot, nor 'tis like dreamt of it, nor if they had, was the World as yet dispos'd to receive it. Something we said to this before, when we considered the Bishop of *Rome* as standing uppermost among the Metropolitans mention'd

tion'd in the *Nicene Canon*. To add more, were a vain, and impertinent loss of time; especially after so much as has been said upon this Argument, both by the Writers of the *Greek Church*, (*Alexius Aristinus, Zonaras, Balsamon, Matthæus Blastares, Pet. Antiochenus, Macarius Ancyranus, Demetrius Chomatenus, Barlaam, Nilus Thessalonicensis, Nicetus Seidus, Nilus Doxopatrius, Geo. Coreffius, Gabriel Philadelphensis, Maximus Margunius, Melletius Alexandrinus, &c.* whom *Leo Allatius* \* in a scornful insultation over the deplorable state of his own Country is pleas'd to style *Græcanica ingenia*, the *Witts of Greece*) and by them of the Reform'd Religion, and by some too of their own Church, by whom all pleas and pretences to this power have

\* *Ib.* 16 n. 2.  
col. 240.

have been so often and so shamefully baffled, that a man would wonder if at this time of the day they should be again rallied, and brought into open Field. It remains then that we consider him in his *Metropolitcal*, and *Patriarchal* capacity.

II. AND first we shall enquire what were the bounds of his *Metropolitcal* Power.

And the best measures we can take in this matter, will be to enquire into the extent of the civil Jurisdiction of the *Provoſt* of *Rome*, with which that of the *Roman* Prelate must run parallel, no man can doubt, that considers the course of things in those times, when in this respect the Church and the State went so fairly hand in hand. A thing not only affirm'd by Protestants, but granted by the  
most

most Learned and zealous Writers of the Church of *Rome*. Let us therefore consider first how the case stood in the civil State.

The *Prefect* of *Rome* was an Officer of great Antiquity, instituted in the very infancy of that state, while govern'd by Kings, but being only of a *pro tempore*-use, was never made fixt and ordinary till *Augustus*, who being much engag'd in foraign Wars, appointed a Magistrate, who might in the interim supply his room, manage his affairs, and administer Justice at home. His publick appearances were very pompous and stately, and he had several great Officers under him, as may be seen in the *Notitia Imperii*. The greatest persons in the City were not exempt from his power, for calling five persons of  
the

the Senatorian Order to his assistance, he might try and pass Sentence upon the Head of a Senator himself. His Government extended not only to Rome, but to an hundred miles round about it, where the limits of his jurisdiction ceas'd, as is expressly said in a Rescript (a) of the Emperour Severus. *Ditioni suae non solum Roma commissa (quamvis in illa contineantur universa) verum etiam intra Centesimum Miliarium potestatem te protendere, antiqua jura voluerunt,* as his Patent runs in (b) Cassiodore.

(a) *Ap. Ulp. de offic. praef. urb. l. 1. ff. §. 4. Lib. 1. Tit. 12. & collat. Ll. Mosac. Tit. 14. de plag.*

(b) *Form. Lib. 5. p. 207 (c) L. 3. C. Th. Lib. 9.*

*Tit. 30. l. 3. Lib. 11. Tit. 3. l. 9. Tit. 16. ib.*

(d) *L. 9. C. Th. Lib. 11. Tit. 1. l. 12. Tit. 16. ib. l. 12. Tit. 28.*

Within this compass were several Countries, which partly from their lying round about, partly from their subjection to, and dependance upon the praefecture of Rome, were usually styl'd *Urbicariae* (c) and *Suburbicariae* (d), and



and *Suburbanae Regiones* (e), sometimes also *Regiones solitae* (f), the Countries within which the Governour of Rome was wont to exercise his solemn jurisdiction, and *Vicina Regiones* (g), Countries that lie next to the City. And these I doubt not are those Four Regions mention'd in a Law (h) of Constantine M. directed to *Orfitus Praefect* of the City.

(e) L. 13.

C. Tb. Lib. 9.

Tit. 1.

(f) *Ulp. ubi*

*supr.* S. 13.

(g) L. 4. C.

Th. Lib. 14.

Tit. 10.

(h) L. 1. C.

Th. Lib. 14.

Tit. 6.

III. THIS circumference *Salmasius* conceives \* (though herein stiffly oppos'd by his Learned Antagonist) to be the *Romana regio*, mention'd in an old Inscription at *Nola*, and by the Historian (as he corrects \* him out of an ancient Manuscript) in the Life of *Probus*, where 'tis oppos'd to *Verona*, *Benacum*, and other Regions of Italy; and that this was the

\* *Epist. ad*

*Amic.* p. 4.

*Euchar.* P. 1.

c. 1. p. 7.

P. 11. c. 1.

p. 249.

\* *Euchar. ib.*

p. 11. & not.

*Salm. in vit.*

*Probi.*

## A Discourse of the

*ἡμεῖς τὸ Παλαιόν*, the Region of the Romans, spoken of by Ignatius in the front of his Epistle to that Church. What these Four Regions were, mention'd in the Law of Constantine, is not agreed by those that have searcht furthest into this matter. *Gothofred* \* makes them to have been *Tuscia Suburbicaria* (another part of it being call'd *Annonaria*) *Picenum Suburbicarium* (to distinguish it from the *Annonarium*) and of these there is no doubt: The other Two he makes to be *Latium Vetus*, and *Latium Novum*, lying South of Rome, and extending as far as *Sinuessa* upon the River *Safo*, which divided between *Latium* and *Campania*. *Salmasius* \* will have the *Latium Vetus* and *Novum* to have been but one and the same, and which was afterwards

\* *Conjectur.*  
de region.  
suburb. c. 5.  
p. 27. 30, 31.  
& com. ad  
C. Th. Lib.  
14. Tit. 6. l. 1.

\* *Epist. cit.*  
p. 23, 24. *En-*  
*charist.* 1.  
c. 5. p. 170.  
186, &c.

wards call'd *Campania Latina*, and to fill up the number, substitutes the Province of *Valeria*, so call'd from the *Valerian* way, that lay through it. Another French Lawyer, \* who takes upon him in less than half a sheet of Paper (which he publishes on purpose.) to state the controverſie, will have five of the Eleven *Regions* (into which *Pliny* tells us *Augustus* the Emperour divided *Italy*) to belong to this, viz. the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh, as those that lay next the City, and were bounded with the Rivers *Tifernus* and *Silarus* on the East, and *Marca* and *Constantinium* on the West. But herein he offers no other evidence than his own conjecture. *Sirmondus* \* (and others after him) extends the number of the Suburbicary Counties

\* *Io Lechasser. observat. de Eccles. Suburb. p. 45.*

\* *Censur. Conject. l. i. c. 4. p. 23. Advent. P. i. c. 3. p. 31.*

tries to Ten, which he makes the same with the Ten Provinces, that were under the *Vicarius Urbicus*, and to have thence taken their denomination.

But there are two things amongst many others that lye strongly in prejudice of that opinion, and with me turn the Scales. First, That some of these Ten Provinces, especially the Three Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica* lay too remote to come under the notion of *Suburbicary Regions*: For *Urbicarium*, and *Suburbicarium*, *Suburbanum*, and *Suburbicum* all importing the same thing (as the Learned *Jerom Aleander* \* readily grants) must necessarily imply their lying within some tolerable neighbourhood to the City. Secondly, That *Sicily*, one of the Ten Provinces be-  
long-

\* *Refut Con-*  
*ject. P. 1 c. 3.*  
*l. 26.*

longing to the *Vicarius Urbicus*,  
is most expresly distinguish'd  
\* from the *Urbicary Regions*, and \* *Lib. 11. C.*  
as equally as 'tis from *Italy*, *Th. Tit. 16.*  
strictly so call'd, that is, the *l. 9. p. 120.*

Seven Provinces that constituted  
the *Italick Dioecses*. A case so  
clear, that *Sirmond* \* though he \* *Censur. ubi*  
endeavours to say something to *supr. c. 6.*  
it, yet 'tis so thin and trifling, *p. 38. vid.*  
that it rather shews he had a *Advent. ib.*  
good mind to answer it, than *p. 36.*

that his answer would ever  
hold water. Others \* are wil- \* *Aleand. ubi*  
ling to suggest, as if in that Law *supr. c. 2.*  
of *Constantius*, *Illyricum* ought to *p. 23.*

be read instead of *Sicily*: but  
this is thrown in only as a con-  
jecture, and that too against all  
reason, *Illyricum* belonging at  
that time to another jurisdic-  
tion. For by the famous distribu-  
tion \* which *Constantine the Great* \* *Vid. Zo-*  
made of the Parts and Offices *sim. Hist. l. 2.*  
*p. 688.*

of the Empire, *Illyricum* was under a *Prætorian Prefect* of its own, and so I suppose continued all the time of *Constantius* ( in the latter part of whose Reign this Law was made ) though afterwards a great part of it was laid to the command of the *Prætorian Prefect* of *Italy*. But *Morinus* \* like a young and daring Champion that was resolv'd to do the work, is for quite dashing it out of the Body of the Law, as a word contrary to the usage of that time. All which shuffling Artifices are a shrew'd sign it was a bad cause they had to manage.

\* *Exercit.*  
*Eccles. l. 1.*  
*c. 30. p. 243.*

In short, though men of Learning may by tricks and subtilty intangle and perplex an argument ( as they have done in this controversie ) yet two things are plain beyond all just  
ex-

exception. First, that the Jurisdiction of the City-Præfect reacht an Hundred miles about Rome. Secondly, that the *Urbicary* and *Suburbicary* Regions lay chiefly, and in all likelihood, intirely within that compass, and deriv'd that title from their vicinity to the City, and their immediate dependance upon the Government of its Provost. And I cannot but a little wonder that *Sirmond*, who more than once grants \* the *Præfect* of Rome to have had jurisdiction within an Hundred miles, should yet as often deny \*, that he had any Provinces under his Government, as if there had been no Provinces within that compass, when they are expressly call'd the *Suburbanae Provinciae* in the *Theodosian Code* \*, and the ordinary Judges in those parts

\* *Cens. c. 12.*  
p. 9. *Adv.*  
c. 1. p. 7.

\* *Cens. p. 12.*  
*Propemp. l. 1.*  
c. 7. p. 87.

\* *Lib. 9.*  
*Tit. 1. l. 13.*

commanded to return all greater causes to the Tribunal of the *City-Præfekt*, and this in contradistinction to the course of other Provinces, which were to be accountable to the *Prætorian Præfekt*.

IV. HAVING thus found out the Jurisdiction of the *Roman Præfekt*, it should one would think be no hard matter to discover that of the Bishop of *Rome*, there being so known a correspondence between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government of those days. And though this did not always, nor Universally take place (and how should it, when time, and the Will of Princes made such alterations in the bounds of places and Provinces?) yet did it generally obtain. A thing introduc'd at first for greater convenience,



niency, founded upon long custom, and settled by several Laws and Canons of the Church, insomuch that if a change or alteration had been, or should hereafter be made by imperial authority in any City, that then the Order of Episcopal Sees should follow the civil and Political forms, as is expressly provided by two general Councils, the one of *Chalcedon* \*, the other of *Constantinople* \*. Nor can any reason be given, why the Bishop of *Alexandria* should exercise a Pastoral Authority over Three such large Provinces, as *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, but only because they were under the civil Government of the *Præfectus Augustalis*, the Imperial Vice-roy, who kept his residence in that City. The Jurisdiction then of the Bishop

\* *Conc. Chalcedon. 17.*

\* *Conc. C.P. in Trull. c.*

38.

of *Rome* being of equal circumference with that of the *Roman* Provost, must extend to all the City-Provinces, that lay within an Hundred miles round about it.

Accordingly we find that when great disturbances were made in the Church of *Rome* by the *Manichees*, and other Hereticks and Schismaticks, *Valentinian* the Third writes \* to *Faustus* Præfect of *Rome* to expel them all out of the City; but especially to proceed against those who separated themselves from the Communion of the venerable Pope, and whose Schism did infect the people; commanding him, that if upon warning given they should not within Twenty days reconcile themselves, he should banish them One hundred miles out of the City; that so they might be

\* L. 62. C.  
Th. Lib. 16.  
Tit. 5.

be punisht with their self-chosen solitude and separation. The Emperour thinking it but just, that they who had voluntarily rejected, should be themselves cast out of the bounds of his Jurisdiction, that they who had perverted many in the Capital City, should not be left within any part of his Diocess to infect the people. And this was done in compliance with the course observ'd in civil cases, where notorious malefactours were so us'd. Thus Symmachus \* the Gentile was for his insolence banish'd an Hundred miles out of Rome. And some Ages before that, Severus having cashiered the Souldiers that murdered the Emperour Pertinax, banisht \* them, and charg'd them at the peril of their Heads not to come within an Hundred miles

\* *Prosp. de  
promiss. div.  
P. iii. prom.  
38. p. 60.*

\* *Herodian.  
Hist. l. 2.  
p. 97.*

*A Discourse of the*

of Rome, that is, within the limits of the City-Præfecture. And more plainly yet, in the case of *Ursicinus*, who had rais'd infinite stirs at Rome about the choice of Pope *Damasus*, and had set up himself as Competitor in that Election, for which he had been banish'd into France, *Valentinian* the Elder afterwards (as appears by his Rescript \* directed to *Ampelius* the City-Provost) gave him and his companions leave to return into Italy, provided they came not to Rome, nor any place within the Suburbicary Regions, that is, within the Jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop.

\* *Ext. ap.*  
*Baron. ad*  
*Ann. 371.*  
*quid. item Re-*  
*scr. ad Ma-*  
*xim. V. V.*  
*ibid.*

But *Rufinus* has put the case beyond all question, who in his short paraphrase (for for a translation we may be sure he never intended it) of the Sixt *Nicene* Canon,

Canon, tells \* us, that accord- \* *H. Eccl.*  
ing to ancient custome, as he of *l. 1. c. 6.*  
*Alexandria had in Egypt, so the*  
*Bishop of Rome had the care and*  
*charge of the Suburbicary Church-*  
*es.* The Champions of the  
Roman Church finding them-  
selves sorely pinch'd with this  
authority, have no other way  
to relieve themselves but to  
throw it quite off their Necks,  
and to fall foul upon *Rufinus*,  
loading him with all the hard  
Names and Characters of re-  
proach, charging him with ma-  
lice, falshood, ignorance, want  
of learning, and indeed what  
not. But the World is not now  
to be taught that *Rufinus* was  
a Man of parts and learning,  
witness the reputation which  
his Works had of old, and  
still have to this day. Pope  
*Gelasius* with his Synod of seven-  
ty

\**Distinct. xv.*  
*c. 3. Sancta*  
*Romana. p. m.*  
 34.

ty Bishops allow'd \* them (the case only of free-will excepted :) And among the rest his *Ecclesiastical History*, wherein this very *Nicene Canon* is extant, and gives him too the title of a *Religious Man* into the bargain. So that *Rufinus* his *Exposition* has the Popes own approbation on its side. And surely if ever his judgment be infallible, it is, when he has his Council about him to advise and assist him. And though perhaps that *Gelasian Synod*, if searcht into, may not be of that authentick credit, as to lay any considerable stress upon it, yet however it stands good against them, that own its authority, and thereby approve its determination. And though it had not given this testimony to *Rufinus*, yet there wants not other

other evidence that the thing was so. Accordingly *Hincmar* of *Rhemes*, speaking of this very Book of *Rufinus* whence this passage is taken, assures us \*, it was one of those that were receiv'd in the Catalogue of the *Apostolick* See. Nay, his Ecclesiastical History obtain'd such credit, that it was wont solemnly to be appeal'd \* to by Fathers and Councils in some of the most weighty and important cases of the Church.

\* *Adv. Hincm. Laud. cap. 21. p. 100.*

\* *Vid. Conc. Nic. II. Act. I. Con. T. vii. Col. 80. 85. vid. Cyril. Epist. ad PP. Afric. Conc. T. 2. col. 1143.*

V. NOR is there any shadow of probability, that he should be mistaken either in the sense of the *Nicene* Canon, or in the Province of the Bishop of *Rome*. He was himself an *Italian*, born not above Twenty years after the Synod of *Nice*, Baptiz'd, and perhaps born at *Aquileia*, a famous City of

of *Friuli*, (honoured heretofore with the residence of *Augustus* and some other Emperours, and made afterwards a Metropolis, and the Seat of the *Prætorian Prefect*) and himself a Presbyter of that Church: He had been frequently conversant at *Rome*, had travell'd over most parts of the Christian World, and had convers'd with persons of the greatest note and eminency in every place. In all which respects he could no more mistake the jurisdiction of the See of *Rome*, than we can suppose, that a Prebend of *York* born and bred in the Church of *England*, should be ignorant how far the Province of *Canterbury* does extend. Nor can there be the least reason to imagine, either that by *Suburbicary* Churches *Rufinus* should mean



mean any other, than what lay within those Provinces, that were universally known by that title, or that he should dare so openly, and in the face of the World to shut up the Bishop of Rome within those Suburbicary Regions, had not his power at the time of the *Nicene Council* (whose Canon he must in all reason be suppos'd to explain as things stood at the time of that Synod) been notoriously known to have been confin'd within those limits.

But what need we take pains to vindicate the credit of our witness? he stands not alone in this matter, his testimony being sufficiently justified by concurrent evidence. The ancient Version of the *Nicene Canons* (publish'd by *Sirmond* \* out of the Records of the *Vatican*, and another

\* *Censur. P.*  
ii. c. 4. p. 68.

other exactly agreeing with it by Mons. Justell, from a very ancient Manuscript) the Author whereof was perhaps not much later than *Rufinus*, renders it by *Suburbicaria loca*, the Suburbicary places; the three Arabick Versions, the *Alexandrian*, that of the *Melchites*, and the Paraphrase of *Joseph the Egyptian*, all express it to the same effect, that he should have power over his Countries and Provinces, and what ever lay next to him: *Alex. Aristenus*, and *Sim. Logotheta*, two Greek Canonists, and a third ancient Epitomizer of the Canons, mention'd by *Leo Allatius* \*, by *ἡ πόλις καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν τόποι*, the places and Provinces that lay under Rome, i. e. the Suburbicary Countries.

\* De Eccl.  
Occid. & Or.  
consens. l. 1.  
c. 12. S. 4.  
p. 191.

Nor will it a little contribute to the further clearing of this

this matter, to observe, that as the civil Government of the Roman Provost is distinguish'd from that of Italy in the Writings of those times, so is this of the Roman Prelate: and this distinction very ancient. When Paul of Samosata Bishop of Antioch refus'd to give Domnus possession of that Church, an appeal was made to the Emperour Aurelian, who referr'd the Decision of the case to the Bishops of Italy and of Rome, as Eusebius \* tells us: and in the title of the Letter written by the Sardican Synod to the Church of Alexandria, 'tis said, \* that the Bishops Assembled from Rome and Italy, i. e. Italy taken in its strict and peculiar notion, as 'tis there distinguish'd from Campania, Calabria, &c. Thence Milan as being Head of

\* H. E. l. 7.  
c. 30. p. 282.

\* Ap. Athan.  
Apol. II.  
p. 588. vid.  
ad solitar.  
p. 640.

\* *Ap. Ath.*  
*ib. p. 643.*

\* *Ap. Theod.*  
*H. Eccl. l. 2.*  
*c. 15. p. 91.*

\* *Sac. Hist.*  
*l. 2. p. 169.*

\* *Pithan. P. 1.*  
*c. 3. p. 26.*

of the *Italick Dioces*, is in an Ecclesiastick sence call'd \* the *Metropolis of Italy*, and *Dionysius* Bishop of that Church styl'd \* *Bishop of the Metropolis of Italy*, and *Sulpitius Severus* speaking of *Priscilian* and his company coming into *Italy*, says \* they address'd themselves to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Ambrose* of *Milan*, as Bishops that had the greatest authority in those days. And in this respect in the civil sence *Berterius* \* truly makes *Rome* to be the *Metropolis* of the *Suburbicary Regions*, as *Milan* was of the rest of *Italy*.

VI. BUT it seems no small prejudice to the great men of that Church, that so venerable a person as the Bishop of *Rome* should be pent up within such narrow limits, much inferiour to many others, especially

cially him of *Alexandria* or *Antioch*. But besides that the *Eastern* Dioceses (as some think) were generally larger than those of the *West*, the Ecclesiastick Provinces (as we noted before) were restrain'd to the form of the civil constitution, and were more or fewer, as it happened in the political Distribution: Wherein if the *Roman* Bishop had not so large an extent as some others, yet was it made up in the number, and frequency of Episcopal Sees, beyond what was in all those times in other places of the like extent. And therefore when the Synod at *Arles* in their Letter \* to Pope *Sylvester*, say that he did *maiores Dioceses tenere* (a passage frequently quoted by the Writers of the *Roman Church*) possess greater Dioceses; besides, that

\* *Ext. Conc.*  
*T. 1. col.*  
1429.

\* *De Primat.*  
c. *Ult.* p. 390.

the place as *Salmasius* \* observes is very corrupt, and affords no currant sence, 'tis plain that the word *Diocess* there cannot be understood of *Patriarchal* *Dioceses* (*Constantine* not having yet made the division of the Empire, nor *Dioceses* come up in a civil, much less in an Ecclesiastical sence) and must therefore be meant of single Bishopricks, in the modern use of the word, and which was not unusual in those days, as is evident from the *Code* of the *African* Church, and the conference between the *Catholicks* and *Donatists* at *Carthage*, where nothing is more common and obvious than this usage of the word *Diocess*, for a single Episcopal See; the places \* are too numerous to be reckon'd up. And thus also. Pope *Leo* uses the

\* *Vid. Cod.*  
*Can. Eccl.*  
*Afric. Can.*  
53. 56. 71.  
93. 98. 99.  
117. 118. 119  
123. & in  
*collat. Car-*  
*thag. passim.*

*Ancient Church-Government.*

131

\* the word in the case of *Re-* \* *Epist.*  
*stitutus* an *African* Bishop. LXXXVII. c. 2.

p. 158.

VII. AND indeed that the bounds of the Church of Rome for several Ages after the *Nicene* Council were much narrower than some others, appears from an old *Greek Notitia Episcopatum*, wherein the five Patriarchates are distinctly reckon'd up, with all the Provinces and Bishopricks contain'd under them. Where under him of *Rome*, are set down no more than six Provinces (whereof the *παρχία Ουβινγκείας Ρώμης*, the Province of *Urbicary Rome* is the first) containing not above One hundred and eight Episcopal Sees. A number far inferiour to the rest, especially the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had subject to him xxxiii Provinces, and in them cccclxxxix Bishopricks,

K 2

be.

besides some others then newly added to him. This *Notitia* had been heretofore published by *Carolus a S. Paulo* in his *Geographia Sacra*, but when he came to that part of it that concerns the Diocess of *Rome*, he quite leaps over it, pretending the Manuscript Copy to be imperfect, and that the words were so corrupted, that scarce any one remain'd entire; leaving somewhat more than a bare suspicion, that he himself, or some before him had purposely rac'd the Manuscript, least the nakedness of the Country, the thinness and smallness of the *Roman* Diocess in comparison of others, should be discovered. But to their great confusion it has been lately published \* intire and perfect out of the *Oxford* Library, where  
the

\* *A D. Beve-*  
*reg. inter*  
*Annot. ad*  
*Can. xxxvi.*  
*Conc. vi. in*  
*Trull p. 135.*



the account that we have given is plain and notorious. All which considered, with how little reason and pretence to truth does *Morinus* \* appeal to the Ecclesiastick *Notitia's*, even such as were made long after the times of *Constantine*, to prove the amplitude of the *Roman* Province, as to the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*. But to return, there can be no reason to expect, that the Ecclesiastick limits in those days should be longer than those of the State, which were the standard and measure, by which the others were ordinarily regulated. Nor is the greatness of any Jurisdiction so much to be measured by the largeness of its extent, as by the honor and authority of the place, where 'tis exercised; as that of the

\* *Exerc.*  
*Ecccl. l. 1.*  
*exercit. xxx.*  
*p. 250.*

Lord Mayor of *London*, though reaching no further than the Liberties of the City, ( which take not in half the Suburbs ) is yet a more honourable authority, than that of a Sheriff of the largest County in *England*. In this regard the Bishop of *Rome* had though a shorter cut, a better and more noble Jurisdiction, than any other Prelate in the World besides; *Rome* being the Seat of Majesty and Power, the residence of the Emperours, the highest Court of Justice, the place to which all parts paid either homage, or at least respect and veneration, honoured with the Title of **ROME THE GREAT**, the Provoſt whereof was reckoned next

— \* *Adoratum populo caput, & crepat ingens Sejanus : deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda, &c.* *Juvenal.*

\* in honour to the Emperour, and upon all occasions went equal

equal in dignity to the Prætorian Prefect, who yet commanded ten times as many Provinces: He had the precedence (a) of all the great Officers of Rome, and to him belong'd *Civilium rerum summa*, (b) the management of all civil affairs. Hence the Title given to Sylvester, is that of Bishop of the Imperial City (c), and the Council of Chalcedon tells us, that the Fathers therefore gave a Prerogative to the See of Rome, *ὡς τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*, because that was the Governing and Imperial City; and Constantius the Emperour though

*Satyr. x. vers. 62. orbe &c.] quia præfectus Urbi fuit venerabilis, secundus à Casare Tiberio. Vet. Scholiast. ibid.*

— *erubuit tanto spoliare ministro*

*Imperium fortuna tuum: stat proxima cervix*

*Ponderis immensi — P. Stat. Sylv. l. 1. c. 4. vers. 5. de Rut. Gallico. P. V.*

*Vid. Gothofred. conjectur. dissert. l. c. 1. 11. c. 5. c. 7. Dartis. de Reg. Suburb. Part. l. c. 16. p. 147.*

(a) *L 3. C. Lib. 1. Tit. 28. Symmach. l. 10. Epist. 36. p. 503.*

(b) *Id ib. Epist. 30. p. 459.*

(c) *Ap. Euf. de Vit. C. l. 3. c. 7. p. 487. Can. 28.*

he had already condemn'd and depos'd *Athanasius*, did yet to put the better colour upon it, desires to have it ratified by the authority enjoy'd by the Bishops of the eternal City, as the Hea-then Historian \* has remark'd. And thus much may serve for the Metropolitcal bounds of the Roman Prelate.

\* *A. Mar-  
cell. Hist.  
l 15. p. m.  
1454.*

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CHAP. IV.

**An Enquiry into the  
Rise and Original of  
Patriarchs in the Chri-  
stian Church.**

*An Enquiry into the Rise and Ori-  
ginal of Patriarchs in general.  
None before the Council of Nice.  
What that Council contributed to  
them. Civil Dioceses when, and  
by whom introduc'd. These gave  
start to Primary Metropolitans.  
Dioceses, when first brought in-  
to the Church. The title of  
Patriarch borrowed from the  
Jews. Who their Patriarchs,  
and whence descended. Exarchs  
what. The word Patriarch when  
first*

## A Discourse of the

first us'd by Church-writers in a strict and proper sence. The Patriarchs among the Montanists, who. A short Survey of the four great Patriarchates. The extent of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Diocesis Ægyptiaca, what. The Patriarchal Jurisdiction in what sence larger than that of the Augustal Prefect. Little gain'd to this Patriarchate more than a title of honour. The Patriarchate of Antioch commensurate to the Eastern Diocesis. The contest about Cyprus how determin'd? Palestine for some time under Antioch. The Patriarchship of Constantinople. By what degrees it rose. What priviledge conferr'd upon it by the second general Council. The Bishops henceforwards exercising a kind of Patriarchal power over the Churches of the neighbouring

neighbouring Provinces. The Power granted to that See by the Council of Chalcedon. It's ninth, seventeenth and eight and twentieth Canons considered to that purpose. Jurisdiction over the three Dioceses of Asiana, Pontica, and Thrace. This settled upon a full debate and discussion of the matter. This Power own'd by the Synod to have been exercised of a long time before. This grant urg'd against the universal Supremacy of the See of Rome. The extent of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate in after times manifested from several ancient Notitiæ. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The honour confirm'd to this Church by the Nicene Council. Its subjection to the See of Cæsarea. When first attempting a Metropolitcal Power. The contest between

between this Bishop, and the Bishop of Antioch. How determin'd in the Council of Chalcedon. When first styl'd Patriarch. The extent of this Patriarchate.

I. **P**ROCEED we in the second place to consider him as a Patriarch, the highest Degree of Ecclesiastick Government which the Church ever owned. And in order to the better clearing the whole matter, it will be of some advantage, and perhaps not unpleasant to the Reader, to enquire briefly into the rise and original of Patriarchs in general, and then survey each particular Patriarchate. The rise of Patriarchs is but obscurely delivered in the Records of the Church, the



the thing not being particular-ly, and by name taken notice of, 'till like a River that has run a great way, and gathered many tributary rivulets, it had swell'd it self into a considerable stream.

That there were none at the time of the *Nicene Council* we shew'd before, the chief Church-Governours then being the *Metropolitans*, some of which soon after set up for more room, and began to enlarge the bounds of their Jurisdiction. And two things there were greatly contributed to that attempt. *First*, The mighty reputation which the Synod of *Nice* had given to *Metropolitans*, and especially to the particular Sees of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. This inspir'd them with an ambitious affectation of extending their  
Su-

*A Discourse of the  
between this Bishop, and the Bi-  
shop of Antioch How deter-  
min'd in the Council of Chalce-  
don. When first styl'd Patri-  
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triarchate.*

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the

the thing not being particularly and by name taken notice of, 'till like a River that has run a great way, and gathered many tributary rivulets, it had swell'd it self into a considerable stream.

That there were none at the time of the *Nicene Council* we shew'd before, the chief Church-Governours then being the *Metropolitans*, some of which soon after set up for more room, and began to enlarge the bounds of their Jurisdiction. And two things there were greatly contributed to that attempt. *First*, The mighty reputation which the Synod of *Nice* had given to *Metropolitans*, and especially to the particular Sees of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. This inspir'd them with an ambitious affectation of extending their

Su-

\* L. 7. c. xi.  
P. 347.

Superiority and Jurisdiction, and prepar'd the way among their Brethren, for the easier reception of it. *Socrates* observ'd, that long before his time (*ἤδη πάλαι*, which must reach as far as the Council of *Nice* at least) the Bishop of *Rome* (as he also of *Alexandria*) had gone beyond the bounds of his place, and had aspir'd *ἐπὶ δυναστείῳ*, to a Power and Dominion over his Brethren. A remark so very clear and plain (especially as to the Bishop of *Rome*) that nothing is more obvious in the whole History of the Church.

The Synod of *Nice* was beholden by all with a just regard and veneration, and its Decrees receiv'd as Oracles from Heaven, and the Christian World finding what particular  
care

care it had taken of those three great Sees, were the more ready to submit and strike Sail to their Ulurpations. Hence the following Popes, but especially *Leo the First*, do upon all occasions magnifie the *Nicene Canons*, and amplify their meaning beyond what was at first intended by them. Secondly, The late division of the Empire, and the alteration of it from that form, whereinto it had been cast, first by *Augustus*, and afterwards by the Emperour *Hadrian*, new modell'd by *Constantine the Great* much about the time of the *Nicene Council*, gave a singular advantage and opportunity to promote and further this design.

II. FOR *Constantine* introduc't four *Prætorian Præfectures*, each *Præfecture* containing several

ral *Dioceses* ( XIII. in all ) and each *Diocess* comprehending several Provinces, the *Vicar* or civil Lieutenant residing in the Metropolis of every *Diocess*, and presiding over all the Provinces within that division. And how easie was it, the World being so prepar'd and dispos'd, and the Church so readily embracing the forms of the civil state, for the chief Metropolitan of every *Diocess* to set up for himself. The dignity of the City where he resided, and the resort of people thither for the dispatch of business made him at first be esteem'd and honored as the *First* Bishop of the *Diocess*, and this in a little time brought on the priviledge of Ordaining the Metropolitans of the several Provinces, and to be intrusted with almost the same powers

powers over Metropolitans; which they had over Provincial Bishops.

And no doubt it made persons more willing to comply with such a Model, that having frequent occasion of repairing to the Metropolis, (as is intimated in the ninth Canon of *Antioch*) they might with the greater conveniency dispatch their civil and Ecclesiastical affairs both at once. It serv'd not a little to help on this business, that the second general Council gave the Bishop of *Constantinople* the next place of honour to him of *Rome* upon the account of its being the Imperial City; which gave no small encouragement to the Bishops of all *Diocesan Metropoles* to attempt the extending their Superiority equal to that of the Imperial

perial Governour that kept his residence in that City. But that which puts the case past dispute is, that that Council took in the form of civil Dioceses into the Church, at least, approv'd what was already taken in: for so they provide \* that Bishops should not go beyond the Diocess to meddle in Churches that were without their bounds.

\* *Concil. C. P.*  
*Can. 11,*

\* *L. 5. c. 8.*  
*p. 275.*

*Socrates* \* giving an account of this Canon, says expressly, that the Fathers of the Synod having made division of the Provinces, constituted Patriarchs. And though perhaps by Patriarchs *Socrates* means no more than those *Pro-tempore* Commissioners who were within such and such places appointed to judge who should be received to Catholick Communion



munion (as we have elsewhere \* observ'd) yet very plain it is, that the Council there intends *Diocess* properly, and in an Ecclesiastick sense, and therefore opposes it to *Province*, ordaining that Bishops should not ordinarily go out of the *Diocess* to celebrate Ordinations, or any other Church-offices; and that the Canon concerning *Diocesses* being observ'd, the Synod in every *Province* should manage the affairs of it according to the *Nicene* constitution. And in the sixth Canon they speak yet more expressly, that if any take upon him to accuse a Bishop, he shall first exhibit and prosecute his charge before the Provincial Synod; and in case they cannot end it, that then the accusers shall apply themselves

\* *Life of*  
*Greg. Nazianz. Sect. v.*  
*Num. 8.*

μεῖζον συνέδριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου. to the greater Synod of the Bishops of that Diocese, who shall be assembled for that purpose. And if any slighting the Bishops of the Diocese, shall sue to the Emperour, or the secular Tribunals, or to a general Council, he shall not in any wise be admitted to exhibit an accusation, but be rejected as a Violator of the Canons, and a disturber of Ecclesiastick Order. And to name no more in a case so evident, Pope Innocent \* in a Letter written about the year ccccviii. says of the Church of Antioch, that its authority reacht not over a single Province, but over a Diocese; though withal he falsly makes it to have been so settled by the Synod of Nice. Nay long be-

\* Epist. xviii.  
non longe ab  
init.

before all this we meet with Ecclesiastick *Dioceses* in this sence.

For by a Law \* of the Emperour *Gratian* bearing date May the xvii. Ann. ccclxxvi. it is provided, that the same customs that were in use in civil Judicatures, should obtain in Church matters, and the final decision and determination of Ecclesiastick causes should be made in their proper places, and by the Synod of every Diocess. And this course the Emperour insinuates, as that which was not then first introduc't.

\* *Lib. 16.*  
*C.Th. Tit. 2*  
*l. 23.*

III. FROM all this it appears that according to the Political constitution, *Diocesan* or, as 'twas after call'd *Patriarchal*, Jurisdiction was brought into the Church, and that accordingly the Bishops of some of those Cities, who had hitherto been but

Metropolitans, advanc't into the Title and Dignity of *Primates* (which was the word that generally obtain'd in the *Western* parts, the word *Patriarch* being late, and little us'd in the *Western Church*) extending their superintendency commensurate to the Jurisdiction of the *Vicar* of the *Diocess*. And because some of these *Metropoles* were Cities of far greater eminency and account than others, as *Rome*, *Alexandria*, &c. therefore the Bishops of them were (in the *East* especially) honoured with the Title of *Patriarchs*, differing at first from other *Primates* not so much in power, as in dignity and honour, they were *diversorum nominum, sed ejusdem officii*, as *Gratian* \* notes. That this Title of *Patriarch* was borrowed from the *Jews*, there can be

\* *Distinct.*

xcix. p. 302.

be no doubt. Upon the final destruction of their Church and State, they were dispers'd into several Countries, especially in the *Eastern* parts, where not being capable of continuing their *Levitical* Polity, exactly according to the *Mosaick* Institution, they constituted some persons to exercise the chief authority among that people, who kept their residence in some of the greater Cities, as at *Babylon*, *Alexandria*, *Tiberias*, and afterwards probably at *Jerusalem*. The persons thus made choice of, are thought to have been of the Tribe of *Judah*, and more particularly to have descended from the Line of *David*. *Epiphanius* \* seems to make them (at least them of *Tiberias*) to have been the Posterity of *Gamaliel*, the great Coun-

\* *Hæres.* 30,  
p. 60.

\* Dial. 1.

Tam. iv. p. 22.

cellour spoken of in the *Acts*, But *Theodorit* \* has a more peculiar fancy, that they were the descendants of *Herod* the Great, who was by his Fathers side an *Ascalonite*, by his Mothers an *Idumean*. But however descended, they were entrusted with the chief Power and Government over the *Jews* within their particular Jurisdictions. These are they who so often call'd ראשי גלות the *Heads of the Exiles*, and other-whiles *Princes*, and frequently *Patriarchs* (though besides these Supream, it seems probable from some of the Imperial Laws, that they had an inferiour sort of *Patriarchs*, who were but just Superior to their *Presbyters*, or *Elders*) of these *Jewish* *Patriarchs* there is frequent mention both  
in

in Jewish (a), and Christian (b) writers, and especially in the Theodosian (c) Code: Whence also 'tis evident that this Office and Title ceas'd, or rather was abolisht by the Imperial Authority not long before the year (d) ccccxxix. in the time of the younger Theodosius. But though it be plain whence this Title was deriv'd, yet when it first sprung up in the Christian Church, it is hard to say. In the Canons \* of the Chalcedon Council he is call'd *Exarch* of the *Diocefs*, and any Bishop or Clergy-man that has a controversie with his own Metropolitan, is allow'd to appeal to him ( the word

(a) *Seder Olam*, R. Abraham, R. Dav. Ganz. in *Zemach*, David. Benjamin in itin. &c.

(b) *Epiph. Hares.* xxx ubi supra. *Cyrl. Catech.* xii. p. 261. *Hieron. Comm. in Esa.* c. 3. p. 18. & alibi. *Chrysost. adv. Jud.* l. 4. p. 448. & de hisce intelligendus est locus in *Epistola Hadriani ap. Vopisc. in Saturnino* p. 960.

(c) *Lib. 16. Tit. viii. de Judais.* l. 1. 2. 8. 11. 13, 14, 15. 17. 22. 29.

(d) *Vid. C. Th. ubi supr.* l. 29, & *Theod. loc. supr. citat.*

\* *Can. ix.*  
& xvii.

word *ἐξάρχης* indifferently notes any chief Person in place or power, and the sense of it is to be determin'd according to the circumstances of the case.

Thus the Canons mention both *Exarch* \* of the Province, and *Exarch* of the Diocese, the First denoting a Metropolitan, the Second a Patriarch.) But in the

Acts \* of that Council we are told of *οἱ ἁγιοτάτοι πατριάρχαι διονυσίου ἐκείνης*, the most holy Patriarchs of every Diocese; and in the several Libels \* exhibited against Dioscurus, Pope Leo is intitled Patriarch of Great Rome.

And that this Title was not then newly taken up we are assured from the Letters \* of Theodosius and his Empress Placidia, about calling the third general Council, holden at Ephesus Ann. ccccxxxi. in both which

\* *Con. Sard.*  
*Can. vi.*

\* *Conc. Chal.*  
*Act. ii. col.*  
*338. Tom 4.*

\* *ib. Act. iii.*  
*col. 395.*

\* *Ext. ibid.*  
*col. 57.*



which *Leo* is styl'd the most Re-  
verend Patriarch. This is the  
first time that I remember to  
have met with a Patriarch  
strictly so call'd, unless we will  
understand the passage of *Soc-  
rates* I mention'd concerning  
Patriarchs in a proper sence.

IV. INDEED the Monta-  
nists or Cataphrygians, who start-  
ed up under the Reign of the  
Emperour *Antoninus*, had their  
Patriarchs. They had three Or-  
ders \* of Church-Officers, Pa-  
triarchs, Cenones and Bishops. But  
besides that they were an odd  
and absurd Sect, whom the Ca-  
tholick Church alwas disown'd,  
'tis not easie to guess what  
they meant by Patriarchs, whom  
they plainly make distinct from  
Bishops. They were it seems  
their prime Ecclesiastick Go-  
vernours, the chief whereof re-  
sided

\* *Hieron. E-  
pist. ad Mar-  
cellam. p. 28*  
T. 2. Habent  
primos de  
Pepusa  
Phrygiæ  
Patriarchas.  
Secundos,  
quos, &c.

\* *Vid. Apol-  
lon. ap. En-  
sch. l. 5. c. 18.  
p. 184. &c.  
16. p. 180.*

sided probably at *Pepuza* in *Phrygia*, which they Fantastical-ly call'd \* *Jerusalem*, affirming it to be the *New Jerusalem*, that came down out of *Heaven*, and this 'tis like in imitation of the *Jewish High-Priest*; for from the *Judaical* constitution they borrowed many of their De-vices, and perhaps might bor-row the very name as well as thing from them, the prime Church-Officer among the *Jews* after the Destruction of the Temple, and the Abrogation of that Polity, being styl'd Pa-triarch, as we noted before. But it may be doubted, whe-ther the *Montanists* had those three Orders from the begin-ning of their Sect, it being ta-ken notice of by none Elder than *S. Jerome*, nor that I know of, mention'd by any other an-cient

cient Writer after him. However 'tis certain, that in the common use of the word, it occurs not till the time of Pope Leo, and the Ephesine and Chalcedon Councils. After that the Title became fixt, and nothing more common than the word *Patriarch*, and *ἐπίσκοποι πατριάρχικοι*, Patriarchal Sees in the writings of the Church. What and how many these particular Sees were, we are told by the sixth Council in Trullo \*, \* *Can. XXXV.* where they are particularly enumerated, and their order and precedency adjusted in this manner, *Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.* From hence then we descend to survey these particular Patriarchates; not designing to meddle with Secondary and later Patriarchates, such as that of *Aquileia, Grado,*

*Grado, Russia, the Patriarchs of the Maronites, Jacobites, Armenians, the Catholick or Patriarch of Bagdad or Manzel and the like. Our business now is with the five ancient, and eminent Patriarchships, and though first in order, we shall reserve that of Rome to be treated of in the last place, intending to discourse more fully concerning it.*

V. WE begin with the Patriarch of Alexandria (for I shall take them in order, as I conceive they grew up in time) who seems to have gain'd little by his new Patriarchship besides the honour of the Title, whether we consider him in point of precedency, in point of power, or in the extent of his Jurisdiction, may in some respects he was a loser rather than

than a gainer by it. In point of precedency, he was before the second Metropolitan in the whole Christian World, whereas now he was thrust down into the third place. In point of power he was before this change sole Metropolitan of those parts, and the Ordination of his suffragan Bishops intirely belong'd to him, or depended upon his consent and confirmation, which now according to the constitution of Church-Polity must be devolv'd upon the severall Metropolitans under him: Nor was he much advanc't in the extent of his Jurisdiction.

'Tis true the *Diaecesis Ægyptiaca* consisted of six large Provinces, all under the Government of the *Augustal Præfect*, who constantly resided at

*Ale-*

\*Ca. 116. fol.  
76. ubi vid.  
comment.  
Panciroll.

*Alexandria* ( and consequently in  
Spirituals belong'd to the Pa-  
triarch of that place: ) These  
in the *Notitia Imperii* \* we find  
thus reckon'd up; *Libya Superior*,  
*Libya Inferior*, *Ihebais*, *Ægyptus*,  
*Arcadia*, *Augustanica*. Whereas  
in the *Nicene Canon* the *Ale-*  
*xandrian Metropolitanship* is said  
to extend but over three, *E-*  
*gypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*. But  
when it is considered, that *The-*  
*bais*, *Arcadia* and *Augustanica*,  
were of old parts of, and lay  
hid under the more general  
name of *Egypt*, and that *Penta-*  
*polis* was the same with the  
*Upper Libya*, the account will  
be much the same.

\*Gel. Cyz.  
H. Conc. Nic.  
l. 2. c. 32.  
p. 268.

We find in the *Council of*  
*Nice* \* that the *Bishop of A-*  
*lexandria* was appointed to give  
an account of those *Synodal*  
*transactions* to the *Churches*  
through.

throughout all *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, and the neighbouring Countries as far as the Provinces of *India*. Where the *Αἴγυπτος πᾶσα*, or *whole Egypt* (in opposition to the other two which were but single Provinces) takes in *Egypt* strictly so call'd, *Thebais*, *Arcadia* and *Augustanica*; and by the neighboring Regions that lay as far as *India*, are doubtless meant the Frontier Countries that bordered upon the *Roman* Provinces, and were perhaps confederate with the Empire, and wherein 'tis like the Bishops of *Alexandria* had propagated Christianity (as we know *Athanasius* did in *India*) whose Churches therefore own'd a dependance upon the See of *Alexandria*. And in this respect I grant the Bishop had somewhat a larger

Jurisdiction than the *Augustal* Præfect, tho otherwise they were the same.

Upon the erection of this See into a Patriarchate, several Metropolitans start up : Ten of the Metropolitans of his Diocess, the Emperour *Theodosius* \* commanded *Dioscorus* to bring along with him to the Council of *Ephesus*. How many more he had is not certain. *Nilus*

\* *Conc. Chalced.*  
*Act. I. p. 100*  
*T. iv.*

\* *Ap. L. Al-*  
*lat. de conf.*  
*Eccl. Or. &*  
*Occid. l. 1.*  
*c. 9. n. 2. p.*  
*167.*  
*(a) Chap. 2.*  
*Num. 7.*

*Doxopatrius* in his *Notitia* \* says there were thirteen; the old *Greek Notitia* we mention'd before (a) reckons ten Provinces, and in them ninety nine Bishopricks, which surely argues that a miserable desolation had laid waste those Countries, and reduc'd the number of Episcopal Sees. Seeing before the time of the *Nicene* Council there met in Synod

near



near an Hundred \* Bishops out of *Egypt* and *Libya*, whom *Alexander* had summon'd to the condemnation of *Arius*. And that so many there were, *Athanasius* expressly \* tells us more than once. And how greatly Bishopricks were multiplied afterwards, the Reader who is vers'd in these matters needs not be told.

\* *Vid. Alexand. Epist. Encycl. ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11.*

\* *Apol. II. p. 611. vid. p. 560.*

VI. THE See of *Antioch* always took place next that of *Alexandria*, being ever accounted the prime City of the *East*. Like the rest it arose by degrees into a *Patriarchate*, First getting an honourary, then an authoritative Superiority over that *Diocefs*. During the Session of the Second general Council, the Bishops not only of that Province, but of the *Eastern Diocefs* met together to Ordain

## A Discourse of the

*Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, whose Act herein was ratified by the Vote of that Council, as the remaining part of the Synod, meeting again the next year, tell \* *Pope Damasus* in their Letter to him.

\* *Ap. Theod.*  
l. 5. c. 9.  
p. 211.

About this time, or rather sometime before, I guess the Bishop of *Antioch* had set up for a Patriarchal power, and had begun to enlarge his Jurisdiction from a Province to a Diocess. Now the *Eastern Diocess* \* under the care of the *Comes Orientis* contain'd fifteen Provinces, the *Three Palestine's*, *Phænice*, *Syria*, *Cyprus*, *Phænice Libani*, *Euphratensis*, *Syria Salutaris*, *Osrhoëna*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia Secunda*, *Isauria* and *Arabia*; *Cyprus* indeed stood out, and would not submit to the See of *Antioch*, and though the Bishop

\* *Not. Imp.*  
*Orient. c. 104*  
*fol. 71.*

shop stickled hard to bring them under, yet the *Cyprian* Bishops stoutly maintain'd their ancient rights. The case was canvass'd and debated at large in the Council of *Ephesus* \*, \* *Act. vii.*  
and upon hearing the whole *col. 787. & c.*  
matter, the Council adjudg'd *Tom. iii.*  
it for the *Cyprian* Churches, that they should still enjoy their ancient *αὐτοκεφαλία*, their liberties independent upon the See of *Antioch*, and pass'd a particular Canon in favour of them. And so they continued for many Ages: And therefore in the old *Notitia* \* *Cyprus* is not plac'd \* *Ubi supr.*  
under any of the Patriarchates, *p. 147.*  
but is noted to be a Province *ἔχουσα παρ' ἑαυτῇ δεσποτείαν*, having Jurisdiction within it self.

But the rest of the Provinces for any thing that appears, submitted, and the Bishop of

Jerusalem with his Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, were both for some time under the See of *Antioch*. And this renders S. *Jerom's* meaning plain enough in that known passage \*, when he tells *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, who in the controverſie between him and *Epiphanius* had appeal'd to *Theophilus of Alexandria*, that if he would have appeal'd, it ſhould have been either to him of *Cæsarea*, who was his Metropolitan, or to the Bishop of *Antioch* as Metropolitan of the whole *East*, that is, of the *Eastern Dioceſs*. But when he ſays, this courſe was ſettled by the Synod of *Nice*, 'tis plain 'twas his miſtake. And indeed his own *Ni fallor* ſhews he was not very confident and peremptory in the caſe.

\* *Hier. ad  
Pammach.  
Tom. 2. p. 178*

The

The account of this Patriarchate, as delivered by \* Nilus Doxopatrius (with whom in the main concurr many other ancient Notitiæ \*) stands thus. Immediately subject to the Patriarch were VIII. Metropolitans, who had no suffragan Bishops under them, and VIII. or as others reckon, XII. Archbishopricks : Besides which he had XIII. Metropolitick Sees ; Tyre containing under it XIII. Bishopricks ; Tarsus VI ; Edessa XI. or as others x ; Apamea VII ; Hierapolis XI, the Latine Notitiæ reckon but VIII ; Bostra XIX, or XX ; Azarbus IX. Seleucia in Isauria XXIV ; Damascus XI ; Amida VIII, or as the Latins VII ; Sergiopolis v, but by some one less ; Daras x, the Latin Notitiæ call it Theodosiopolis, and allow but VII. Episcopal Sees ; and

\* Ap. L. AL  
lat. l. 1. c. 9.  
n. l. col. 165.

\* Ap. Guil.  
Tyr. l. 23  
Mira. notit.  
Episc. &c.

lastly *Emesa* containing vi. This was the state of that once venerable Patriarchate.

VII. THE next that succeeds is the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, which though starting later in time, soon got beyond the other two. The Bishop of *Byzantium* or *Constantinople* had for several Ages been only a private Bishop, Subject to the Metropolitan of *Heraclea*, which anciently had the *πρῶτη* ( as *Procopius* \* tells us ) the Primacy of all the Cities of that Country ; in acknowledgment of which subjection the Bishops of *Heraclea* had ever the privilege to Ordain the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. But no sooner was that City made the Seat of the Empire, but great things were spoken of it, 'twas styl'd the Governing

\* *De edific.*  
*Justin. Lib. 4*  
*§. 9. p. 87.*  
*vid. Chron.*  
*Alex. ad An.*  
*Const. xxv.*  
*p. 666.*

verning City, the Metropolis of the whole World (a), a great City (says Nazianzen (b) in one of his Sermons to the people of that place) and the very next to Rome, nay not at all yielding the Primacy to it, it being *πρωτη ἐν πόλεσι*, the first and chiefest City of the Empire. And now the Bishop of Constantinople began to appear considerable in the World, and both Church and State conspir'd to render him great and powerful.

(a) Chrysost.  
Homil. iv. de  
verb. Esai.  
T. 2. p. 865.  
(b) Orat.  
xxvii. p. 472.

The Fathers of the second general Council holden in that City, considering that Constantinople was new Rome, conferr'd \* upon him *πρεσβεία ὡς πρῶτης*, the \* Can. iii. privilege of honour and respect next to the Bishop of Rome. This at one lift set him over the Heads of the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch.

Ac-

\*C. Th. Lib.  
16. Tit. 1.  
l. 3.

\*Conc. Chalc.  
Act. 1. col.  
116.

Accordingly in the preceding Canon of that Council, and in a Law \* of *Theodosius* conforme thereto concerning the bounds of Diocesess, and Catholick Communion, he is set before both the Bishops of those Sees; and if the subscriptions to this Synod be of any credit, we find *Nectarius* subscribing first to the Decrees of the Council. And when the Acts of the clancular Synod at *Ephesus* were read in the *Chalcedon* Council \*, and it was found that the Bishop of *Constantinople* was therein put in the fifth place, the Bishops presently rais'd a clamour, why had he not his proper place, why was he thrust down into the fifth place; whereupon *Paschasius* the Popes Legate declar'd that he held *Anatolius* of

Con.



*Constantinople* in the first place: which *Diogenes* of *Cyzicum* affirm'd was according to the constitutions of the Fathers. But to return to what we were upon. Though this Canon of *Constantinople* gave the Bishop no direct power, yet it gave him so mighty a value and reputation, that he wanted not opportunities enough to carve for himself. He was soon courted on all hands, his mediation requested, and his interposal desired for the ending differences, and where Provincial Bishops could not agree about the Election of their Metropolitans, the case was very often referr'd to him, and he perform'd the Ordination.

This in time begat a right, at least a claim, over the Churches in those Countries that lay next him,

him, especially the Dioceses of *Asiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace*, in which 'tis plain he exercised a Patriarchal power. Thus to omit other instances, *S. Chrysostom* Synodically heard the cause of *Antoninus* Bishop of *Ephesus* (the Metropolis of the *Asian* Diocess) and afterwards went himself in person thither, where he conven'd a Synod of LXX. Bishops of those parts, heard the cause over again, gave judgment upon it, and ordain'd a Metropolitan in that City. He likewise depos'd *Gerontius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, which lay in the Diocess of *Pontica*, and some others, and fill'd up their Sees; whereof we have elsewhere given an account at large. And this very instance we find produc'd and pleaded in the *Chalcedon* Synod \* to prove

\* *Act. xi.*  
*col. 669.*

prove the rights of the Constantinopolitan See over those Churches. I know the validity of these good mans proceedings in this matter is disputed by some, and was of old put among the Articles exhibited against him to the Synod at the Oke. But no doubt can be made, but *Chrysostom* thought he had sufficient authority and right to do it, and would not have attempted it, had it not been warranted by the practise of his predecessors.

In the mean time I cannot but smile at the grave fancy of a Learned Man \*, who without the least shadow of any other warrant than his own conjecture, will have *Chrysostom* to have acted herein as the Popes Legate, and to have done all this by vertue of his abso-

\* *Morin. l. 1.  
Exercit. XIV.  
p. 102.*

absolute and supreme authority. So quick-sighted and acute are men to discern what never was, and so willing to believe, what 'tis their interest should be true.

VIII. BUT to proceed with our Patriarch of *Constantinople*, he held on much at this rate till the general Council at *Chalcedon* holden there Ann. CCCCLI. when what he had hitherto holden by custome, Canonical authority made his right. By their ninth Canon they provide, that if any Bishop or Clergyman have a controversie with his own Metropolitan, it shall be at his liberty to appeal either to the *Exarch*, that is, Primate of the Diocess, or to the See of *Constantinople*, where his cause shall be heard. A Canon that invested him with

a vast power, putting him into a capacity of receiving and determining final appeals from all those parts. The same they again ratify by their seventeenth Canon, and by their twenty-eight make a more particular provision for him. First, they profess in general altogether to follow the Decrees of the Holy Fathers, then they recognize the third Canon of the second general Council ( which was then read before them ) and Decree the same Priviledges, and upon the same account, as that had done to the Church of *Constantinople*. " Forasmuch ( say they ) as the reason why the Fathers conferred such Priviledges upon the See of *Old Rome*, was, that it was the Imperial City. And upon the same consideration

Imp. THEODOSIUS &  
Honorius A A. Philippo  
PF. P. Illyrici.

Omni innovatione C<sup>on</sup>stan-  
te, vetustatem & Canones.  
pristinos Ecclesiasticos, qui  
nunc usque tenuerunt, per  
omnes Illyrici provincias,  
servari precipimus: Tum,  
si quid dubietatis emerferit,  
id oporteat, non absque scien-  
tia Viri Reverendissimi  
Sacrosanctæ legis Antistitis  
Urbis Constantinopolitana  
(QUÆ ROMÆ VETE-  
RIS PRÆROGATIVA  
LÆTATUR) conventui  
Sacerdotali Sanctoque judi-  
cio reservari. Dat. Prid.  
Jul. Eustathio & Agri-  
cola COSS. [421]

“ration the Bishops  
“of that second ge-  
“neral Council gave  
“equal Priviledges  
“to the See of New  
“Rome; rightly judg-  
“ing (as the Canon  
“goes on) that the  
“City which was  
“honoured with the  
“Empire, and the  
“Senate, and enjoy’d  
“equal Priviledges  
“with old Imperi-  
“al Rome, should al-  
“so in Ecclesiastical

“matters have the same ho-  
“nour with it, only coming  
“after it in the second place.

And because the Bishop of  
Constantinople had hitherto had  
no certain Diocess, nor any  
place wherein to exercise Ju-  
risdiction, but what he held  
pre-

precariously, and as it were by courtesie, in the latter part of the Canon they fix his bounds, giving him power over the three Dioceses of *Pontica*, *Asiana* and *Thrace*, that the Metropolitans of all those places, and all the Bishops of the *Barbarous* Countries belonging to those Dioceses, should be bound to come, and receive their Ordination from the Bishop of *Constantinople*.

And now he lookt like Bishop of the Imperial City, being invested with so ample and extensive a Jurisdiction. For the three Dioceses of *Asiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace* were great and large. The First \* containing eight Provinces (viz. *Pamphylia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pisidia*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, and *Phrygia Salutaris*, both

\* *Vid. notit. Imp. c. 122. fol. 78.*

N

which

which were anciently comprehended under the *φρυγία μεγάλη*, or greater Phrygia, as it stood oppos'd to the lesser, that lay upon the *Hellepont*:) the Se-

\* *Ib. c. 126.*  
*fol. 79.*

cond \* eleven (*Bithynia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, Honorias, Galatia Salutaris, Cappadocia Prima, Cappadocia Secunda, Hellenopontus, Pontus Polemoniacus, Armenia Prima, Armenia Secunda*:) the third

\* *Ib. c. 132.*  
*fol. 82.*

\* six (*Europa, Thracia, Hæmimontus, Rhodopa, Mæsia Secunda, Scythia.*) The Popes Legates were infinitely enrag'd at this Canon, and the Powers and Priviledges hereby given to the See of *Constantinople*, and us'd all possible arts to overthrow it, but all in vain, it pass'd clearly, and was subscrib'd by all the Bishops then present in the Synod, amounting to a very great number, whose sub-

scrip-



scriptions are still extant \* in the Acts of the Council. After a full discussion of the whole matter, that no pretence of force or fraud might be objected, as many of the Bishops of *Asiana* and *Pontica* as were then in the Synod were desir'd to declare whether they had freely submitted to this constitution. Who accordingly stood up, and one after another did most solemnly protest that they had voluntarily and unconstrainedly assented to, and subscrib'd the Canon, and that nothing was more acceptable to them. And many of them expressly declar'd they did it for this reason, because not only themselves, but their Predecessors had been Ordain'd by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and that the See of *Constantinople* had

\* *AE.* xvi.  
col. 798, &c.  
*Tit.* iv.

# A Discourse of the

these rights ἐκ τῶν κανόνων, & ἐκ τῆς  
προλαβούσης συνηθείας, from Canons  
and precedent customs.

So that it's more than probable that the Bishop of *Constantinople* had exercised this power within those Dioceses almost ever since the time of, and by virtue of the third Canon of the second general Council. And 'tis observable what *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, a City of the greater *Phrygia*, tells the Synod upon this occasion, that he had been at *Rome*, and there in the presence of the Clergy of *Constantinople* that were with him had read the Canon ( I suppose he means that of the second general Council ) to the Pope, who approv'd and received it, (which I the rather take notice of because not only modern Writers,

ters, but *Gregory the Great* \* so confidently affirms, that the Church of *Rome* neither had Copies, nor did admit the Acts and Canons of that Council.) And whereas *Eusebius* of *Ancyra* scrupled to subscribe, yet he confess, that he himself had been Ordain'd by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, that he had ever declin'd Ordaining Provincial Bishops, and had done it only by direction of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. And after *Thalassius* of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia* told the Synod, that they were of Arch-bishop *Anatolius* his side, and did decree the same thing. The Judges hereupon having weigh'd all that had past, declar'd, that in the first place τὰ πρῶτα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ, that precedency and singular honour should accord-

\* *Lib. 6. In-*  
*dict. xv. E-*  
*pist. 31. col.*  
*614.*

ding to the Canons be paid to the Arch-bishop of Old Rome; and that withal the Arch-bishop of the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, being *New Rome*, ought to enjoy the same Privileges of honour, and to have besides *ἡ αὐθεντίας ἐξουσία*, power of himself, and by his own authority to Ordain the Metropolitans within the Dioceses of *Asiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace*; the Election being first duly made within every Province, and that then it shall be at the choice of the Arch-bishop of *Constantinople*, whether the Metropolitan Elect shall come to him for his Consecration, or whether by his permission it shall be done at home by the Provincial Bishops; and that this shall no ways prejudice the Rights of Metropolitans and

Pro-

Provincial Bishops in Ordaining private and particular Bishops, wherein the Arch-bishop of *Constantinople* shall not interpose. Whereupon all with one voice cried out, 'twas a righteous Sentence, that they were all of that mind, that this just judgment pleas'd them all, that the things that had been establisht should take place, and that every thing had been done decently and in order.

In conclusion, they wrote a Synodical Letter \* to Pope *Leo*, acquainting him with what had past, and upon what grounds they had done it, and desiring his concurrence in it. And we may observe they tell him, that in settling this power upon the See of *Constantinople*, they did but confirm τὸ ἐκ πολλῆς κατανόου ἔθος, the custom which that Church had

\* *Ext. ib. col. 833. vid. ib. col. 838. A.*

of a long time obtained over those three Dioceses. Which puts it past all peradventure what we noted before, that from the very time of the second general Council, the *Constantinopolitan* Bishops had exercised a kind of *Patriarchal* Jurisdiction over those Churches, though never till now settled by Canon.

IX. AND now let the Reader impartially reflect upon the whole affair, and when he has considered what this wise and great Council expressly affirm, that the Priviledges which the Fathers gave to the See of *Rome* were meerly upon the account of its being the Imperial City, and that for the very same reason they gave equal Priviledges to the See of *Constantinople*, only reserving a honorary

nourary precedence to him of Rome; let him tell me, whether it can be suppos'd, they could or would have said and done this, had they known, or but so much as dream't of any supreme authority, which Christ had immediately given the Bishops of Rome over the whole Church of God. Nor was this the only Council that thus honoured the *Constantinopolitan* See; somewhat more than two Ages after met the sixth general Council in the *Trullus*, or great Arch'd-hall or *Secretarium* of the Pallace, who confirm'd \* what both the former Councils, that of *Constantinople*, and the other of *Chalcedon*, had done in this matter, and assigned each Patriarch his proper place.

\**Can. xxxvi.*

X. WHAT additions, or alterations after Ages made in the  
See

See of Constantinople, the Reader may perceive somewhat by perusing the following accounts. In the *Greek Notitia* publisht \* not long since out of the Bodleian Library, compos'd in the Reign of the Emperour *Leo the Wise*, about the year DCCCXCI. this Patriarchate had under it XXXIII. Metropolitans, who had under them CCCLXXV. Episcopal Sees, besides XLI. ἀυτοκέφαλοι, or independent Arch-bishopricks, subject to no Metropolitan. *Leunclavius* \* presents us with another Διατάξεις, or disposition of the Churches of this Patriarchate made by this same Emperour, wherein are set down LXXXI. Metropolitans, containing under them DLXXIV. Suffragan Sees, and XXXIX. Arch-bishopricks. But surely this list is either greatly inter-

\* *Inter Annot. D. Bevereg. ubi supr.*

\* *Jur. Gr. Rom. l. 2. p. 88.*



interpolated, or must be of a later date than it pretends to, being so different from the other both in the number, and the names of places, and not very consistent with it self. For whereas it reckons up LXXXI. yet when it comes to set down each Metropolitan with his particular Suffragans, it gives but an account of LVII. of the number. But however this be, within an Age or two after, partly by the addition of new Provinces, partly by erecting new *Metropoles*, it was enlarg'd. For in the *Notitia*, or discourse concerning the five Patriarchal Sees written by *Nilus Doxopatrius* the *Archimandrite*, Ann. MXLIII. the account stands thus. \* *Metropolitans* LXV. under the *Bishopricks* DCXL. *Arch-bishopricks* without *Suffragans*, and im-

\* *Ext. ap. L. Allat. loc. cit. c. 24. col. 411, &c.*

immediately subject to the Patriarch xxxiv. *Ann. MCCLXXXIII. Andronicus Palaeologus* entred upon the Empire : He publisht an order \* according to which the Metropolitans were to take place, wherein they are reckon'd up to the number of an Hundred and nine. And in another, agreed upon by the Emperour and the Patriarch, put out by *Leunclavius* \*, but without any date either of time or persons, are mention'd Lxxx. Metropolitical Sees, Archiepiscopal xxxix. And thus much for the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*.

XI. THE fourth that remains is the Patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, the last in time, and least in circuit. For several Ages the Bishop of *Jerusalem* was no more than a private Pre-

\* *Ext. ad calc. Codin. de offic. CP. p. 117.*

\* *Ib. l. 3. p. 244.*

Prelate, subject to the Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*. For so the *Notitia* publisht by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre* informs \* us, that according to ancient tradition, and Records of good authority in those parts, the Church of *Jerusalem* had no Bishop under it, nor enjoy'd any, or very little prerogative till the Reign of *Justinian*, and the times of the fifth general Council; though always out of reverence to the place, custom and ancient tradition (as the Fathers of *Nice* inform \* us) had allow'd him a peculiar honour, and therefore those Fathers decree him τ ἀκολυθίδος τ τιμῆς, the consequence of honour, that is, that he should have respect and precedence before all the Bishops of that Province next to his own Metropolitan.

\* *Ad colc.*  
*lib. 23. Hist.*  
*stor. sacræ p.*  
1015.

\* *Can. viii*

And

And indeed whatever they  
of the Church of Rome may  
talk of the merit of *S. Peter*,  
as the foundation of the su-  
pereminent authority of that  
Church, surely if any Church  
might have pleaded merit, one  
might have thought it should  
have been that of *Jerusalem*,  
which for so many Ages had  
been the Metropolis of the  
*Jewish* Nation, the Seat of their  
Kings, adorn'd with a most  
magnificent Temple, and all  
the Solemnities of Divine Wor-  
ship; the place where our Bles-  
sed Saviour spent the greatest  
part of his publick Ministry,  
where he Preacht so many Ser-  
mons, wrought so many Mi-  
racles, where he suffered, died,  
and rose again, and whence he  
ascended into Heaven, where  
the Apostolical Colledge was  
kept

kept for some years, and all affairs of the Church transacted there; where *S. James the Brother of our Lord* was made (and that say some of the ancients by our Lords own hands) the first Christian Bishop of that See; the place where the first Church was planted, and from whence Christianity was propagated into all other parts of the World. This was the true Mother Church, and if all merit might have challeng'd Primacy and Power, it had more to say for it self, than all other Churches in the World besides. But *Cæsarea* happening to be the Metropolis of that Province, and the Seat of the Roman Governour, carried away the Superiority, and so *Jerusalem* though it had an honourary respect, continued a pri-

private See, subject to the Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, as he for some time was to the Patriarch of *Antioch*.

But after that the Empire was become Christian, and that *Constantine the Great*, and his Mother *Helena*, and some following Emperours began to reflect some peculiar favours upon that place, and had grac'd it with stately and magnificent buildings, and other marks of honour; and after that the Devotion of Christians began to pay an extraordinary respect to the places of our Lords Crucifixion, Sepulchre, and Resurrection, the Bishops of that Church lookt upon themselves as hardly dealt with to be coop'd up within so narrow a compass, and to be subjected to another jurisdiction, and therefore

fore resolv'd to throw off the yoke, and to get what power they could into their own hands.

The first that graspt at the Metropolitick Rights was S. *Cy-rill*, who disputed the case with *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, for which *Acacius* depos'd him, and persecuted him both in the Synod at *Seleucia*, and in that which followed at *Constantinople* about the latter end of *Constantius* his Reign. What immediately followed in this controversy, is uncertain, the History of the Church being silent in that matter. In the Council of *Ephesus*, *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem* laid claim to the Metropolitick Jurisdiction of that Province, and fought to have it confirm'd by a Decree of that Synod. But *Cy-rill* of *Alexandria* President of the

O

Coun-

Council, oppos'd and hindred it. After this a high contest arose between him and *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, who challeng'd *Jerusalem* and *Palestine* as within his Diocess. The case was brought before the *Chalcedon* Council \*, where it was debated, and at last by compromise between the two contending parties brought to this issue, that the Bishop of *Antioch* should retain the two *Phœnicia's* and *Arabia* (which it seems were also in dispute) and the See of *Jerusalem* should have the three *Palestine* Provinces for the bounds of his Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction. This was assented to, and ratified by the Decree of the Council.

\* *Act. vii.*  
*col. 614. &c.*

And now the Bishop of *Jerusalem* had his peculiar *Diocess*, though



though of no very great extent, allotted him, and the tables were turn'd, and *Cæsarea* it self subjected to him, and the fifth and last place among the Patriarchs assign'd to him; as appears from the constitution of the sixth general Council. And because *Jerusalem* lay in the borders both of the *Antiochian*, and *Alexandrian* Patriarchates, therefore to make up its jurisdiction, we are told \* that something was taken out of each, the Metropolitick Sees of *Rabba* and *Berytus*, from him of *Alexandria*, as *Cæsarea* and *Scythopolis* from him of *Antioch*. And that as a badge of his ancient subjection, the Metropolitan of *Cæsarea* still had the honour \* to Ordain the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, as upon the same account he of *Heraclea* had

\* *Guilielm. Tyr. loc. citat.*

\* *Nil. Doxoparr. ap. L. Allat. ubi supr. c. 9. n. 5. col. 196.*

to Consecrate the Patriarch of Constantinople. And in this Patriarchal capacity we find the Bishop of *Jerusalem* subscribing in all Councils, and upon occasions summoning the Bishops of his Patriarchate. Thus Ann. *DXVIII.* we find *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* with his Synod of the Bishops of the *three Palestines* sending a Letter \* to *John* Patriarch of Constantinople. And when the Council at Constantinople under *Mennas* had condemn'd *Anthimus*, *Severus*, and the rest of the *Acephali* Ann. *DXXXVI.* *Peter* Patriarch of *Jerusalem* (as he is all along call'd in the Acts \* of his Council) summon'd a Patriarchal Synod of all the Bishops of the *three Palestine* Provinces, who confirm'd what had been done in the Council at Constantinople. And

\* *Ext. conc.*  
*T.v. col. 188.*

\* *Ext. ibid.*  
*col. 276. &c.*

And thenceforwards the Patriarchate of *Jerusalem* runs smooth and currant through the History of the Church. As to what Bishops and Metropolitans he had under him, the old *Notitia* \* give us this account.

\* *Ap. Guil. Tyr. ibid & Miræum notit. Episc. p. 48.*

The Patriarch himself had immediately under him xxv. Bishops, *αὐτοκεφαλαὶ ἐπισκοπαίς*, Nilus.

p. 48.

*Doxopatrius* \* calls them, Independent Bishopricks, becaule subject to no other Metropolitan; besides which he had four Metropolitans: The Metropolitan of *Cæsarea*, who had twenty Bishops under him; he of *Scythopolis* or *Basan*, who had nine; *Rabba Moabitis*, or as *Doxopatrius* has it, *Petra*, who had twelve, and *Berytus*, who had xxxv. which by the Authors we have cited are particularly reckon'd up.

\* *Ubi supra.*

## C H A P. V.

## The bounds of the Roman Patriarchate.

A return to the Roman Patriarchate. The limits hereof not expressly set down by the ancients. Unjustly pretended to reach over the whole West. This granted by them of the Greek Church, and why. The Popes Patriarchal Power disown'd by the Churches of Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna. The independency and opposition of those Churches to the Roman See, severally evinc't by particular cases and instances. The Power of Metropolitans in France kept

kept up independant from Rome. The truth of this confess'd and clear'd by De Marca. Other instances of preserving their Rights against the pretensions of Rome; Hincmar of Rhemes, and the Synod of Metz. Two other National Churches instanc't in : the African , and the Britannick Churches. The famous case of Appeals in the Church of Africk. A clear account of that matter. Their publick rejecting the power which the Pope challeng'd over those Churches. The Letters of the Council of Carthage to Pope Boniface , and Cælestine to that purpose. Several useful and proper Corollaries deduc't from this story for the evincing the vain pretensions of the Papal Power over those Churches. The boldness of some

*A Discourse of the*

*in denying the truth of this whole story. The state of the Britannick Church. The Progress of Religion and Church-Government here 'till the times of Pope Gregory. The Church Govern'd by an Arch-bishop and Bishop at Austin's arrival. Their customs wholly different from, and independant upon Rome. Their absolute refusal to own the authority of Austin or the Pope. The slaughter of the Bangor-Monks suspiciously charg'd upon Austin. The Popes proper Patriarchate most probably shew'd to be of equal extent with the Jurisdiction of the Vicarius Urbicus. What Provinces under his Government. The Roman Synod consisting of the Bishops of those Provinces. A two-fold Patriarchate of the Pope trifling and precarious. The Bishops*

*Bishops of Rome daily amply-  
fying their Jurisdiction. The  
means whereby they did this brief-  
ly intimated.*

I. **H**AVING thus dis-  
patcht the other  
Patriarchs, we re-  
turn to him of  
Rome, ever allow'd to be the  
first, and most honourable of  
the number. What his Patri-  
archal bounds were, the Re-  
cords of the Church have not  
so particularly set out, as they  
have done the rest. And here  
the Champions of that Church  
when they find themselves  
prest upon, and that the Popes  
Universal and Apostolical Pow-  
er is a Post not to be defend-  
ed, presently retreat to his Pa-  
triarchate, which with great  
confidence they extend over  
the

\* *Sirmond.*  
*Censur. de*  
*Eccl. Suburb.*  
 c. 4. p. 69.  
*Advent. P. II*  
 c. 1. p. 63.

the whole *Western* World, being content with half, when they cannot have all. And to this prodigious Latitude some \* of them stretch the *Suburbicary* Churches, (as if the whole *Western* Empire had been nothing but the *Suburbs* of *Rome*) and in this sence they tell us *Rufinus* meant the Canon of *Nice*, and this upon no wiser reason than (what is as trifling and precarious as the other) that the whole *West* was the *Special* *Diocefs* of the Bishop of *Rome*. But this looks rather like *Fancy* and *Romance*, than that grave and sober arguing that becomes those great Names that use it. Omitting therefore this extravagant notion of *Suburbicary* Churches, come we to the thing it self.

And



And herein it must be granted, they have the later *Greeks*, *Zonaras*, *Balsamon*, *Barlaam*, *Nilus*, &c. on their side, who very liberally give him all the *Western Provinces*, and that too by vertue of the sixth Canon of *Nice*. A concession which they make not so much out of any kindness to the Church of *Rome*, as partly out of a design to magnifie the power and greatness of their own Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was to share equal priviledges with him of *Rome*; partly because they were willing to keep the Pope within any bounds; whose restless ambition they saw carrying all before it, and therefore car'd not to throw him the *West* for his portion, for which they had no care or concernment what became of it, being mainly intent

\* *Pb. Berter.*  
*Pithan. Dia-*  
*trib. II. c. 3.*  
*p. 170. 171.*

tent upon preserving their Jurisdiction at home. And here I cannot but by the way remark the indiscreet and injudicious Zeal of a very Learned man \*, who confidently asserts, that in the expedition of the *Franks* for the recovery of the Holy Land, God by a peculiar providence let the *Eastern* Parts be subdued by the *Western* Armies; that so those famous Patriarchal Sees might learn to strike Sail to the See of *Rome*, and own the greatness and dignity of that Church. Besides, 'tis to be considered, that in this concession the *Greeks* took their measures of things from the state of the Church as it was in their time, when the Pope had in a manner intirely subdued the *Western* Provinces to the See of *Rome*.

*Rome.* But in the better and more early Ages the case was otherwise.

And indeed that the Popes Patriarchal Jurisdiction was far enough from extending over the whole *West*, there can be no better evidence, than that there was scarce any *Western* Church in those days, that did not upon occasion oppose the power, and remonstrate against the Usurpations of the See of *Rome*. In *Italy* we need go no further than to those Churches that lay next it, I mean the great Churches of *Milan*, *Aquila*, and *Ravenna*.

II. HOW great *Milan* was, and of how great reputation the Bishop of it, so that he stood upon a level with him of *Rome*, we briefly noted before; it being next *Rome*, the largest,

\**Goth. lib. 2.*  
c. 7. p. 406.

\**De Concord.*  
l. 6. c. 4. n. 7. 8  
p. 188. *vid.*  
n. 6.

largest, richest, most plentiful, and populous City of the *West*, as *Procopius* \* tells us. *S. Ambrose* his Election and Ordination to that See was made purely by the Provincial Bishops, and at the command of the Emperour, without the least notice taken of the *Roman Bishop*. A case so clear, that *De Marca* \* fairly gives up the cause, and confesses that in those times and for some Ages after, the Pope had nothing to do in the Ordination of the Metropolitan of *Milan*: Nay, that this was the case of all Metropolitans out of the Popes Jurisdiction in *Italy*, where the Bishops of every Province constantly Ordain'd their own Metropolitans without any authority; or so much as consent had from the Bishop of *Rome*.

But

But then not being able to shift off the evidence of truth, and yet willing withall to serve his cause, he does in order to that design, distinguish the *Roman* Patriarchate into ordinary, over a great part of *Italy*, and extraordinary, over the whole *West*. A distinction wholly precarious, and which is worse, false.

And indeed what kind of Patriarchate that must be, that could consist without right of Ordaining Metropolitans, the first and most inseparable branch of *Patriarchal* Power, would have become a person of his, I say not ingenuity, but wisdom and learning to have considered. As for *Milan*, the Metropolitick Rights of that Church, he confesses, continued independant at least till the year

year DLV. And indeed 'tis plain from the Epistle \* of Pope Pelagius; who confesses that the Bishops of Milan did not use to come to Rome, but they and the Bishops of Aquileia Ordain'd each other: and when he was not able to reduce them by other means, he endeavour'd to bring them in by the help of the secular Arm, as appears from his Letter \* to Narses the Emperours Lieutenant to that purpose. And afterwards upon a difference that hapened, Milan withdrew it self from the Communion of the Church of Rome for Two hundred years \* together. And though with others it was brought at last under the common yoke, yet upon every little occasion it reasserted its original liberty. Thus when Ann. MLIX, great disturbances arose

\* Ext. Conc.  
T.v.col.805.

\* Epist. v. ib.  
col. 794.

\* Plat. in vit.  
Steph. ix.  
p. 172.

arose in that Church \*, Pope Nicolaus the Second sent Peter Damian as his Legate to interpose. This made it worse, the common out-cry presently was, That the Ambrosian Church ought not be subject to the Laws of Rome, and that the Pope had no power of Judging, or ordering matters in that See; that it would be a great indignity, if that Church which under their Ancestors had been always free, should now to their extream reproach (which God forbid) become subject to another Church. The clamour increas'd, and the people grew into an higher ferment, the Bells are rung, the Episcopal Pallace beset, the Legate threatned with Death, who getting into the Pulpit, and having in a short speech set forth the Pope's and S. Peter's power, and wheedled

P the

\* P. Dam. Act. Mediol. à seipso conscript. ext. ap. Baron. T. xi. p. 265. & Jo. Monach. de vit. P. Dam. c. 16.

the people with some popular insinuations, reduc'd things to a better order.

III. THE Church of *Aquileia* was much at the same pass with that of *Milan*, the Bishops whereof mutually Ordain'd one another, without so much as asking the Pope leave. And though *Pelagius* \* would insinuate, that this was done only to save the trouble and charge of a journey to *Rome*, yet *De Marca* \* honestly confesses the true reason was, that *Milan* being the Head of the *Italick Diocess*, the Ordaining the Metropolitan of *Aquileia* belong'd to him as Primate; and the Ordaining the Primate of *Milan* belong'd to him of *Aquileia*, as being the first Metropolitan of the Diocess of *Italy*.

\* *Epist. supr. land col. 815.*

\* *Loc. supra citat.*

Upon



Upon this account, and that of the *tria capitula*, this Church held no correspondence with that of Rome for above an Hundred years, and when Gregory the Great having got the Emperour on his side, attempted by force and armed violence to bring them to answer their stubbornness at Rome, the Bishop of Aquileia with his Provincial Synod met, and wrote an humble remonstrance \* to the Emperour Mauricius, wherein they set forth the true state of their case, and the unjust and violent proceedings of the Pope, and plainly tell him that they had at the time of their Ordination given caution in writing to their Metropolitan, which they never had, nor would violate, and that unless his Majesty was pleas'd to re-

\*Ext.ap.Ba.  
ror. An. 590.  
n. xxxviii.  
Tom. 8.

move this compulsion, their Successours would not be suffered to come to *Aquileia* for Ordination, but would be forc't to fly to the Arch-bishops of *France*, as being next at hand, and receive it there. The Emperour was satisfied with their Addresses, and wrote \* to the Pope ( *Baronius* calls them *imperious Letters*, written more *Tyrannico*, like a Tyrant ) commanding him to surcease the Prosecution, and to create those Bishops no farther trouble, 'till the affairs of *Italy* were quieted, and things might more calmly be enquired into. *Baronius* is strangely angry at this Letter, even to the height of rudeness and passion, especially towards so good an Emperour, that he should take upon him *arroganti fastu*, with so much

\* *Ext. ib. n.*  
XLiii.

much pride and arrogancy not to beseech, but to command the Pope, which he again says was done not like an Empe-  
rour, but a Tyrant. But the *Istrian* and *Ligurian* Bishops, little regarded how it thund-  
ered at *Rome*. Nay, to make the ballance hang more even, they had some time since ad-  
vanc't their Metropolitan to the title and honour of a Pa-  
triarch, which *Baronius* \* him- \* *Tom. 7.*  
self grants was done while *Paulinus* *p. 568.* was Metropolitan of *A-*  
*quileia* about the year *DLXX*.  
An honour a long time resi-  
dent at *Aquileia*, then translated  
to *Grado*, and at last fixt at  
*Venice*. Though withal *Aquileia*  
having recovered its broken  
fortunes, resum'd the style and  
dignity of a Patriarch, an ho-

nour which it retains to this day.

IV. LET us next view the Church of *Ravenna*, and see whether that was any more conformable to *Rome* than the rest. *Ravenna* had for some time, especially from the days of *Honorius*, been the Seat of the Roman Emperours; and in the declining times of the Empire, the *Exarchs* of *Italy*, who govern'd in chief under the Emperour, constantly resided there, while *Rome* was under the command of a petty Duke: Swell'd with so much honour and advantage, the Bishops of *Ravenna* for some Ages disputed place with them of *Rome*, the *Exarchs* taking all occasions to curb and repress the Pope. Ann. DCXLIX. *Maurus*, sometimes Steward of that

that Church \*, entred upon the Archiepiscopal See of *Ravenna*. A man as my Author grants, wise, and of a shrew'd sharp Wit. He without taking any notice of *Rome*, was Consecrated by three Bishops of his own Province, Ordain'd his own Provincial Bishops, and was so far from seeking any Confirmation from the Pope, that he received his Pall from the Emperour. This gave infinite distaste to Pope *Martin*, and 'tis like to his Successour *Eugenius*, who sat but one year. But Pope *Vitalian* who succeeded, would not so put it up, but summons *Maurus* to appear, and answer his contempt at *Rome*, but he slighted the Summons, for which the Pope Excommunicated him, and he in requital did the like to the

\* *Hieron. Rub. Hist. Ravennat. l. 4. ad Ann. DCXLIX. p. 203. 205. 206. vid. Bar. ad Ann. 669. n.ii.iii. T. 8.*

Pope, nay upon his Death-bed oblig'd his Clergy never to submit themselves to the Bishop of Rome. *Reparatus* his Successour trod in the same steps, and procur'd the Emperours Rescript to free that Church from any subjection to the Roman See. Ann. DCCVIII.

\* *Baron. cod.*

*An n. ii. iii.*

*iv. Rub. ibid.*

*p. 213. 21.*

\* *Felix* of *Ravenna* was content to receive his Ordination at the hands of the Pope, but when he came thither, an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity was required of him to the See of *Rome*. This he utterly denied, a confession of his Faith he offered, but homage he would not pay, nor engage to send money to *Rome*. Nor more he did, but home he goes, where his people gave him little thanks for what he had done, and both agreed to defend  
eir

their liberty; but it cost the old man dear, and them too for that attempt. For *Justinian Rhinotmetes* the Emperour (who favoured the Pope) being made acquainted with what was done at *Ravenna*; a Fleet is sent under the command of *Theodorus Patricius*, the City besieg'd, and taken, several of prime quality lost their lives and fortunes, and the poor Arch-bishop had his eyes put out, and was banisht into *Pontus*, where he remain'd, 'till the severity of Discipline had taught him better manners.

The same courage in asserting the priviledges of their Church against the Papal encroachments was afterwards shewn by *John*, and *Guibert* Successors in that See, as were it necessary, might be particularly  
re-

related. But the case is too evident to be denied, and the argument thence too strong to be evaded, how little those times understood of any Patriarchal Jurisdiction which the Pope had over all *Italy*, much less over the whole *West*.

V. IF we look into *France*, we shall find them careful to secure the Rights of Metropolitans, and the priviledges of Provincial Bishops, without being oblig'd to fetch them from *Rome*. The second Council of *Arles* Ann. CCCCLII. decree \*, that no Bishop shall be Ordain'd without his own Metropolitan, and three of the Provincial Bishops, the rest testifying their consent by Letter. The second of *Orleans* holden Ann. DXXXIII. renew \* the ancient form and manner

\* *Can. v.*  
*Conc. T. 4.*  
*col. 1012.*

\* *Can. vii.*  
*ib. col. 1781.*



ner of Ordaining Metropolitans, that it shall be done by the Bishops of the Province, which shews how little they depended upon any foreign power in this matter.

But it's needless to insist upon this point, which the Learned *De Marca* \* has so fully cleared and vindicated, as a fundamental part of the liberties of the *Gallican Church*, and has deduc't it through the several Ages and Dynasties of their Kings. I shall only remark, that when *Hincmar* Arch-bishop of *Remes* had depos'd *Rothald* Bishop of *Suessons* for great misdemeanours, *Rothald* appeal'd to *Rome*, and *Pope Nicolaus* espous'd his cause, wrote sharply to *Hincmar*, and cited him to appear, and answer what he had done at *Rome*.

\* *De Concord. l. 6. c. 3.*  
*per tot. c. 4.*  
*n. 3. 4.*

\* *Ext. ap.*  
*Bar. ad Ann.*  
 865. T. 10.  
 n. xxxv. &c.

Rome. But *Hincmar* would not stir, but publisht a large Apologetick \* to the Pope, wherein he justifies his Act, and though he gives good words, and great deference to the See Apostolick, yet stoutly contends, that he ought to be content with a general care and inspection, and not interrupt the ordinary Rights of Metropolitans, and that 'twas infinitely reasonable, that the criminal should be referr'd to the judgment of his own Province.

\* *Annal. incert. auct. ad Ann. 863. inter script. coetan. a Pith. edit. p. 62.*

Two years before this, viz. Ann. DCCCLXIII. a French Synod met at Metz \* about the Marriage of King *Lotharius*, wherein they determin'd contrary to the liking of the Papal Legates. However they sent Letters with the reasons of their

their proceedings by *Guntharius* Arch-bishop of *Colen*, and *Theatgaud* of *Triers* to Pope *Nicolaus*. The Pope upon their arrival call'd a Synod, wherein he Excommunicated the Synod of *Metz*, and depos'd the two Arch-bishops that were sent with the Letters, and publisht \* a manifesto of what he had done. To this the Bishops return'd an answer, wherein having represented the personal affronts, and ill usage they had met with from him, they tell him *Chap. iv.* that as for his froward, unjust, and unreasonable sentence, contrary to all Canons, they did not own it, yea as being illegal and unwarrantable, they together with the rest of their Brethren slighted and despised it, and utterly renounc'd Communion with him,

\* *Ext. loc. cit.*

him, contenting themselves with the Communion and fellowship of the whole Church, over which he had so proudly exalted himself, and from which through his pride and contempt he had separated himself. And whereas he had styl'd them *his Clerks*, they bid him take notice they were none of his Clerks, but persons, whom, if his pride would have suffer'd him, he ought to have own'd and treated as his Brethren and fellow Bishops, with much more there spoken with a just, but smart resentment.

And now can any man believe, the Pope should have met with such treatment upon all occasions, and that from the wisest, gravest, most learned, and eminent persons in their  
fe-

several Ages, had his title to the Jurisdiction of the *West* been so clear and unquestionable, as some men seem to represent it. The same might be shew'd in other Countries, and he must be a great stranger to Church-History, that can be at a loss for instances of this nature. I shall therefore instance only in two more (and with them dispatch this argument) the *African* and the *Britanick* Churches.

VI. I chuse to instance in the Churches of *Africk*, because so confidently challeng'd by them of *Rome* at every turn, and because they were under the civil Jurisdiction of the *Prætorian Præfect* of *Italy*. And here omitting infinite arguments that offer themselves, I shall insist only upon the famous

mous case of *Appeals*, commenc'd under Pope *Zosimus*, Ann. ccccxviii. and not ended 'till some years after, which will furnish us with a plain and uncontrollable evidence, how little authority more than what was honorary, the See of *Rome* in those days had over those Churches.

The case, as briefly as it can well be summ'd up, stands thus, \* *Apiarius* a Presbyter of *Sicca* in *Africk* had been depos'd by his Diocesan *Urbanus* for very notorious and scandalous offences, and the sentence ratified by a Provincial Council. Hopeless of any relief at home, over he flies to *Rome*, tells his tale to Pope *Zosimus*, who restores him to Communion, espouses his cause, and sends him

\* *Epist. Syn. Afric. ad Bonifac. Concil. T. ii. col. 1670. item ad Cœlest. ib. col. 1674. Concil. Carth. vi. col. 1589. Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. in init.*

him back with *Faustinus* an Italian Bishop, and two Roman Presbyters into *Africk*, to see him resettled in his former place. When they arriv'd in *Africk*, they found a Council of *African* Bishops to the number of CCXVII. sitting at *Carthage*, to whom they delivered their message partly by word of mouth, partly by writing. But the writing being demanded, a memorial was produced containing instructions from Pope *Zosimus* what they should insist upon; it consisted of four Heads. *First*, concerning the Appeals of Bishops to the See of *Rome*. *Secondly*, against the busie resorting of Bishops to Court. *Thirdly*, concerning the handling the causes of Presbyters and Deacons by the neighbouring Bishops, where they

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were

were unjustly Excommunicated by their own. *Fourthly*, concerning the Excommunicating Bishop *Urban* ( who had depos'd *Apiarius* ) or at least his appearing at *Rome*, unless he corrected what he had done amiss. But the main thing insisted on was that of Appeals, and the Popes sending Legates thither to hear causes, and this too challeng'd by *Zosimus* in his *memorial* by vertue of a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, giving leave to Bishops accus'd or condemn'd to appeal to *Rome*, and power to the Pope to hear and determine those Appeals, either immediately by himself, or by Commissioners which he should send to that purpose.

The *African* Fathers were infinitely surpriz'd to hear such



a power claim'd, and more to hear it claim'd as due by a Canon of *Nice*. They had search'd into the Canons of that Council, which they found to be but twenty, and not one of that number to this purpose. While these things were debating, *Zosimus* dies, and *Boniface* succeeds, and the case is again canvast, and the result of the consultation was, that for the present things should rest upon that bottom, whereon the Popes memorial had plac't them, 'till they could send to the three great Churches of *Constantinople*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria* for authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Canons, to adjust and decide this matter. They wrote likewise to Pope *Boniface* by his Legates ( who then return'd ) acquainting him with

the state of the case, and what was done in it, and withal tell him, that if it were as those pretended Canons claim'd, the issue would be intolerable to them: But they hop'd it would be found otherwise, no such thing appearing in their Copies of that Council. However they had sent to the *Eastern Churches* for such as were most authentick, and intreated him also to do the like.

VII. SOME years pass'd in this matter, at length the Messengers that had been sent into the *East* return'd, and brought Letters \* from *Cyril of Alexandria*, and *Atticus of Constantinople*, importing that they had sent τὰ ἀληθέστατα καὶ πιστότατα ἴσα, most true and exact Copies of the authentick Synod of *Nice*, preserv'd in the Archives of their Church.

\* *Ext. ubi  
supr. col.  
1143.*

Churches, Copies of which they had also sent to Pope *Boniface*. Hereupon a full Council of *African* Bishops is conven'd, to which Pope *Celestine* (for *Boniface* was lately dead) dispatcht *Faustinus* as his Legate. And now the case of *Apiarius* is again brought under examination, and found worse than it was before, the farther they rak'd into it, the more foul and offensive did it appear to them, 'till the conviction of his conscience, though sore against his Will, forc'd him to confess all, and save them the trouble of any farther Scrutiny.

And now this cause being over, and the pretence of Appeals overthrown by the authentick Copies of the Canons of *Nice*, nothing remain'd but to write

*A Discourse of the*

to *Caelestine*, which they did  
 in a quick and smart strain,  
 “Wherein they first give him  
 “an account of the case of *A-*  
 “*piarius*, and how troublesome  
 “and injurious his Legate *Fau-*  
 “*stinus* had been to the whole  
 “Synod, in asserting the pri-  
 “viledges of the Church of  
 “*Rome*, and by vertue there-  
 “of challenging that *Apiarius*  
 “should be readmitted to com-  
 “munion, because his Holiness  
 “(believing his Appeal, which  
 “yet could not be made good)  
 “had restor’d him to commu-  
 “nion, a thing which he ought  
 “in no wise to have done.  
 “Next they proceed earnestly  
 “to beseech him, that hence-  
 “forth he would not so easily  
 “give ear to those that came  
 “from hence, nor admit any  
 “to communion, whom they  
 “had

“ had excommunicated, which  
“ he might easily perceive was  
“ prohibited by the Council of  
“ *Nice*, which if it has taken  
“ so much care about the Infe-  
“ rieur Clergy, how much  
“ more did it intend it in the  
“ case of Bishops, that where  
“ any are suspended from com-  
“ munion within their own  
“ Province, his Holiness should  
“ not rashly and unduly readmit  
“ them, that he should, as be-  
“ came him, reject the un-  
“ warrantable repairing of Pres-  
“ byters and others of the In-  
“ ferieur Clergy, there being  
“ no Canon of any Council  
“ that has depriv’d the *African*  
“ Church of this Right, and  
“ that the Decrees of *Nice* have  
“ most plainly committed both  
“ the Inferieur Clergy, and the  
“ Bishops themselves to their  
“ own

“ own Metropolitans ; having  
“ most wisely and justly pro-  
“ vided, that all affairs shall  
“ be determin’d in the very  
“ places where they arise, and  
“ that the Grace of the Holy  
“ Spirit will not be wanting  
“ to every Province, whereby  
“ equity may be prudently  
“ discern’d, and constantly main-  
“ tain’d by the Ministers of  
“ Christ, especially since every  
“ man has liberty, if he be of-  
“ fended with the determinati-  
“ on of his Judges, to appeal  
“ to a Provincial, or if need  
“ be, to a general Council :  
“ Unless perhaps any one can  
“ think, that God should en-  
“ able single persons to examin  
“ the Justice of a cause, and  
“ deny it to a vast number of  
“ Bishops Assembled in Coun-  
“ cil. Or, how shall a Judg-  
“ ment

“ment then made beyond Sea  
 “be valid, whereto the persons  
 “that are necessary to give in  
 “evidence, either through the  
 “infirmity of their Sex, or  
 “Age, and many other impe-  
 “diments that will intervene,  
 “cannot be brought? For that  
 “any Commissioners should  
 “be sent hither by your Ho-  
 “lines, we do not find Or-  
 “dain’d by the Fathers in any  
 “Synod. For as to what you  
 “long since sent us by *Fausti-*  
 “*nus* as part of the *Nicene*  
 “Council, in the true and au-  
 “thentick Copies of that Coun-  
 “cil (which we received from  
 “*Cyril of Alexandria*, and *Atti-*  
 “*cus of Constantinople*, and which  
 “we sent to your Predecessour  
 “*Boniface* ) we could find no  
 “such matter. In conclusion,  
 “they advise him, that he  
 “should

“ should not upon the request  
 “ of any man, send any of his  
 “ Clerks thither to execute his  
 “ sentence, nor grant such leave  
 “ to any, lest they should  
 “ seem to introduce the smoaky  
 “ pride of the World into the  
 “ Church of Christ, which  
 “ holds forth the light of sim-  
 “ plicity, and the brightness of  
 “ humility to all them that are  
 “ desirous to see God : That  
 “ as to *Faustinus*, they are con-  
 “ fident, that Brotherly love  
 “ continuing through the good-  
 “ ness and moderation of his  
 “ Holiness, *Africa* shall no lon-  
 “ ger be troubled with him.  
 Such was their Letter to the  
 Pope, a Letter not fuller fraught  
 with true matters of fact, than  
 fortified with clearness and  
 strength of reason.



VIII. FROM this naked and unartificial representation of the case, its plain; *First*, That whatever power the Bishop of Rome claim'd in *Africk*, was even by his own tacit confession, founded upon the Canons of the Church. *Zosimus* did not pretend a Commission from Christ, or a Delegation from S. Peter, but only a Canon of *Nice* to justify his proceedings.

*Secondly*, That the Canons of the Church give the Bishop of Rome no power over foreign Churches, either to receive their excommunicated Members, to hear and decide their causes, or to restore them to communion, or to send Legates and Commissioners with authority to determine the cause at home; for this, say the *African*  
Fa-

Fathers, *nullâ invenimus patrum Synodo constitutum.*

Thirdly, That *Zosimus* was guilty of a notorious forgery and imposture in falsifying the *Nicene* Canons, pretending a Canon of *Sardica* to be a Canon of *Nice*, and as such endeavouring to impose it, and his own power by it upon the *African* Churches. Can it be suppos'd, that *Zosimus* should be ignorant what and how many the *Nicene* Canons were? the Popes Legates were present, and as we are often told, presided in that Synod, brought the Decrees home with them (as all other great Churches did) where they were no doubt carefully preserv'd among the Records of that Church, and the frequent occasions of those times, made them be daily lookt

lookt into. Was not the Pope, think we, able to distinguish between *Nice* and *Sardica*, between an Oecumenical Council, and a Synod only of *Western* Bishops, call'd in another Emperours Reign above Twenty years after. No, no, it was not a sin of ignorance, but the Pope knew well enough which Council would best serve his turn, that the World had a just and a mighty veneration for that of *Nice*, and that his design would be easily swallowed, if he could gild it over with the reputation and authority of that Synod. It was obvious to except against *Sardica*, that it was but a particular Council, and that the Canon it made for Appeals to *Rome* was only a Provisionary Decree, when the injur'd person

son was not like to meet with Justice at home, but the whole Mass of Bishops was corrupted, and set against him, as was the case of *Athanasius* and two or three more in respect of the *Arians*, who were the occasion, and for whose sakes that Canon was made. But that of *Nice* was universal, and unexceptionable, and which he hoped would pass without controul. But the *African* Bishops according to the humour of that Nation were of too honest and blunt a temper to be cajol'd by the arts of *Rome*. They requir'd to have the matter brought to the test, and to be Judg'd by the Original Canons, and so the fraud was discovered, and brought to light in the eye of the World.

*Fourthly,*

*Fourthly*, That the Church of *Africk*, and accordingly every National Church, has an in-hærent power of determining all causes that arise within it self: That this Right is founded both upon most evident reason, ( nothing being fitter than that controversies should be ended in the places where they began, where there are all advantages of bringing matters to a more speedy and equal trial ) and upon the wisdom and justice of the Divine providence, which would not let his assistance be wanting in one place more than another, and especially there where doing right to truth did more immediately make it necessary; and that 'twas as probable two or three hundred should sift out truth as a single person.

That

That the *Nicene Synod* had made this the Right of the *African* no less than other Churches, and they did not understand how they had forfeited it, or that any Council had taken it from them.

*Fifthly*, That it was not lawful for any person, accused or proceeded against in *Africk*, to appeal to *Transmarine Churches*, no not to the See of *Rome*. This they tell *Cælestine* most expressly, and call them *improbable refugia*, wicked and unwarrantable refuges. Against this they had particularly provided in the Council at *Milevis* \* not long before this contest arose, that if any Clergyman had a controversy with his Bishop, the neighbouring Bishops should hear and determine it. But if there were any occasion of appeal:

\* *Cont. Mil.*  
*ñ. Can. xxii.*  
*T. 2. col.*  
 1542.

pealing, they should appeal no further than to an *African* Council, or to the *Primates* of those Provinces. And that if any should resolve to appeal to any *Transmarine* Judgment, no man in *Africk* should admit them to communion. The Canon 'tis true expresses only the Appeals of Presbyters, Deacons, and the Inferiour Clergy; but as the Fathers in their Letters to *Caelestine* argue strongly, if this care be taken about the Inferiour Clergy, how much more ought it to be observ'd by Bishops.

*Sixthly*, That the power which the Bishop of Rome sought to establish over other Churches, evidently made way to bring pride, and tyranny, and a secular ambition into the Church of God, and that if

R

this

this course were follow'd, it would let in force, and domination, and a scornful trampling over the Heads of our Brethren, and perhaps the calling in the secular arm to remove the opposition it would meet with; Principles and Practices infinitely contrary to the mild and humble Spirit of the Gospel.

And now let the Reader Judge what power the Pope had over the *African Churches*, so solemnly denied, so stiffly oppos'd, not by two or three, but by two or three hundred Bishops, twice met in Council upon this occasion, and their judgment herein not precipitated, but past upon most mature and deliberate debate and consultation, and after that the cause had been depending for  
five



five or six years together. The truth is, so great a shock is this to the Papal power, that the Advocates of that Church know not which way to decline it. At last stands up one, \* who not being able to untie, resolv'd to cut the knot, directly charging both the Acts of the Council, and the Epistles to *Boniface* and *Celestine*, without any warrant from Antiquity, to be forg'd and supposititious. But the best of it is, the Writers in this Cause that came after him, had not the hardiness to venture in his bottom. Nor have any of the many Publishers of the Councils since that time stigmatiz'd them with the least suspicion of being spurious, nor taken any notice of the trifling exceptions he makes against them.

\* *M. A. Capell. de Appel. lat. Eccl. Afric. c. 4. p. 118.*

IX. FROM *Africk* let us Sail into *Britain*, and see how things stood in our own Country, the first Nation of the whole *Western* World that received the Christian Faith; it being planted here (as *Gildas*, an Authour of untainted credit, and no inconsiderable antiquity, informs us, and he speaks it too with great assurance) \* *Tempore summo Tiberii Caesaris*, in the latter time of *Tiberius* his Reign, which admit to have been the very last year of his Life (he died *March* the *xvi.* Ann. Chr. *xxxvii.*) it was five or six years before 'tis pretended *S. Peter* ever came at, or founded any Church at *Rome*. Christianity though struggling with great difficulties, and but luke-warmly entertain'd by some, yet as *Gildas* assures us, made shift

\* *Gild. de Excid. Brit. non longe ab init.*

shift to keep up its head in the following Ages, as is evident from some passages in *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and others, and from the known story of King *Lucius* (**Leuer Maur** as the *Britains* call him, the great *Brightness*) the first Christian King. But this we have particularly noted elsewhere \*. Religion being settled, that Church Government grew up here as in other Countries, by Bishops and then Metropolitans, or Superiour Bishops, there can be no just cause to doubt.

\* *Antiq. Apost. Life of S. Paul. §. x. n. 7. Introd. to the Apostolici. n. 8. 9.*

At the Council of *Arles* Ann. cccxiv. we find three *British* Bishops among others subscribing the Decrees of that Synod, *Eborius* of *York*, *Restitutus* of *London* (the same perhaps that subscrib'd the determination made by the *Sardican Synod*)

nod ) *Adelfius* de civitate *Coloniae Londinensium*, with *Sacerdos* a Priest, and *Arminius* a Deacon. After the Empire had submitted to Christianity, we cannot question but that Religion prospered greatly in this Island, and that *Constantine* who made it his business to advance it in all places, would much more give it the highest encouragement in that place, to which he owed both his first breath and Empire.

What progress it made afterwards, I may not stand nicely to enquire; 'tis certain it flourish'd here under the *Roman* Government 'till the Declension of the Empire, when that guard and protection being withdrawn, the Country became a prey to the neighbour-*Picts* and *Scots*, as not long after

ter to the Saxons, a War-like but Pagan Nation, whom the Britains had call'd in to their Assistance, who drove the remainder of the Britains, and with them Religion into the Mountains, where yet it throve under the greatest hardships.

Things continued thus, when Ann. DXCVI. Pope Gregory the Great sent *Austine* the Monk to convert these Saxons, who after his first expedition being at *Arles* consecrated Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, applied himself more closely to this errand than he had done before. He found Paganisme covering the greatest parts of the Island, but withal a considerable Church among the Britains; seven Bishops \* they had as *Bede* informs us; A number says

R 4

Bale

\* *Bed. l. 2.*  
*c. 2. p. 111.*  
*vid. Galfr.*  
*Monemuth.*  
*l. 11. c. 12.*  
*Girald.*  
*Cambr. itin.*  
*Cambr. l. 2.*  
*c. 1. p. 856.*  
*& not. D.*  
*Powell. ibid.*

\* *De Script.*  
*Cent. i. n. 70.*  
*p. 64.*

\* *Annal. Par.*  
*Post. sub Jo-*  
*ann. R. fol.*  
*454.*

\* *De Pri-*  
*mord. Eccl.*  
*Brit. c. 5.*  
*p. 91.*

*Bale* \*, conform'd to the seven Churches of *Asia*; their Sees were *Hereford*, *Tavenfis* or *Landaff*, *Lban-Padern-Vaur*, *Bangor*, *Elviensis* or *S. Asaph*, *Worcester* and *Morganensis*; suppos'd by many to be *Glamorgan*, but that being the same with *Landaff*, *R. Hoveden* \* reckons *Chester* in the room of it, or as *Bishop Usher* \* thinks not improbable, it might be *Caer-Guby* or *Holy-head* in the Isle of *Anglesey*. These seven were under the superintendency of a Metropolitan, whose Archiepiscopal See had been formerly at *Caer-leon* upon *Uske* (the famous River *Isca*) in *Monmouthshire*, but some years before *Austins* arival had been translated to *Menevia* or *S. Davids* (so call'd from the Bishop that translated it) in *Pembrook-shire*, though

though for some time after retaining the Title of Arch-bishop of *Caer-Leon*. And to him were the *Welsh* Bishops subject, and by him Ordain'd, as he by them, until the time of King *Henry the First*. Besides these Episcopal Sees, the *Britains* had Colledges or Seminaries, and in them vast numbers of Christian Monks, who dwelt especially at *Bangor* under the care and superintendency of Abbot *Dinooth*. But that which spoil'd all was, that this Church had Rites and Usages \* vastly different from them of *Rome*, both in the Observation of *Easter*, the Administration of Baptism, and many other Customes. A most infallible Argument, that the *Britannick* Church had no dependance upon, had held no communication with the Church of

\* *Bed. ubi  
supr. p. 110.*

of *Rome*. Their celebration of *Easter* after the manner of the ancient *Asiatick* Churches, clearly shewing that they had originally deriv'd their Religion from those *Eastern* parts. To reduce therefore this Church into subjection to *Rome*, was a great part of *Austins* work.

In order whereunto by the help of King *Ethelbert*, he procur'd a conference with them at a place upon the Borders of *Worcester-shire*, call'd from this occasion **Augustins Oke**. *Austin* us'd all his arts to prevail upon them, perswaded, intreated, threatened, but in vain. After a long disputation they declar'd they preferr'd their own ancient Traditions and Customs, from which they might not depart without leave and liberty from their own Church,  
Nay



Nay, if the *British* fragment  
 produc'd by one of our great  
 Antiquaries \* be of any credit,  
 Abbot. *Dinoth* plainly told him  
 with a *Be it known to you, and*  
*without doubt,* "That they ow'd  
 "no more to the Pope of  
 "Rome, than to every godly  
 "Christian, *vzi.* the obedience of  
 "Love and Brotherly assistance,  
 "other than this he knew  
 "none due to him, whom  
 "they call'd Pope, and who  
 "claim'd to be own'd and  
 "styl'd *Father of Fathers*; that  
 "for themselves they were un-  
 "der the Government of the  
 "Bishop of *Caer-Leon* upon *Uske*,  
 "who under God was to over-  
 "see and guide them.. *Austin*  
 saw'twas to no purpose at pre-  
 sent to treat further, and so  
 reserv'd himself for another  
 conference. A second there-  
 fore

\**Spelm. Conc.*  
*Brit. An.*  
 601. T. 1.  
 p. 108.

fore and a more general meeting is propounded and agreed to, whereto came the seven *British* Bishops, and many other persons of Learning, especially of the College of *Bangor*. *Austin* as before press'd them to a compliance with the *Roman* and *Apostolick* Church. But they, offended with his proud and contemptuous treatment of them, never so much as rising out of his Chair, at their coming to salute him, told him plainly, they would do nothing of what he demanded, nor would they own him for Archbishop; prudently arguing among themselves, *If he would not now vouchsafe so much as to rise up to us, how much more when we have submitted to him, will he despise and scorn us.* *Austin* finding no good was to be done upon

upon them, parted from them with this passionate farewel, That since they would not have peace with their Brethren, they should have war from their Enemies, and for as much as they refus'd to preach the way of life to the English, they should be punish't with death by their hands. And his word it seems was made good : For soon after *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, at the instigation ( as is said ) of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, march'd with a powerful Army to *Caer-Leon*, and made great havock and destruction, and among the rest slew Twelve hundred of the innocent Monks of *Bangor*, who were come along with their Army, by fasting and prayer to intercede with Heaven for its prosperous success. That *Austin* was the first spring of this fatal Tragedy, moving

moving *Ethelbert*, as he did *Ethelfrid*, there are not only strong suspicions, but the thing is expressly affirm'd by several Historians of no inconsiderable credit and antiquity. 'Tis true *Bede* says this happened not till after *Austins* Death. But besides the inconsistency in point of Chronology, 'tis suspicious that passage was foisted into *Bede*, it being wanting in the ancient Saxon Translation of King *Alfred*, done within CL. years after *Bede's* Death. Nay, though we should grant the slaughter to have happened after the death of *Austin*, yet who knows not but he might easily lay the design with *Ethelbert*, though himself liv'd not to see the Execution. And the proud and haughty spirit of the man gives but too much  
en-

encouragement to the suspicion. What became of the *British* Churches after this, I am not concern'd to relate. 'Tis enough to my purpose, that from the very originals of this Church it was independant upon *Rome*, and that for Six hundred years together; nor could be brought to strike Sail, 'till Fire and Sword (the most powerful Arguments of the *Papal* cause) had converted, that is, in effect ruin'd and destroy'd it.

X. FROM the whole of what has been said, laid together, the impartial Reader will easily make this conclusion, how vain and frivolous the pretences are to the Popes *Patriarchal* Authority over the whole *West*, when there's scarce any one *Western* Church that did

did not in those times stoutly appear against the incroachments of Rome. But you'll say, where then shall we find the Roman Patriarchate? certainly within much narrower limits.

And here nothing can offer it self with so much rational probability, as that his Patriarchal Jurisdiction was concurrent with that of the *Vicarius Urbicus*, or the Lieutenant of Rome, as his Metropolitcal was with that of the *Præfectus Urbis*, or City-Provost. Now the *Vicarius Urbicus* had ten Provinces

\* *Notit. imper. c. 48. fol. 149.*

\* under his Government, four Consular, viz. Campania, Tuscia, and Umbria, Picenum Suburbicarium (the Suburbicary as well as other Provinces being in some cases \*, especially that of Tribute, under the Inspection

\* *Vid Zosim. Hist. l. 2. p. 688.*

of the *Prætorian Præfect*, and his *Lieutenant*) *Sicilia*; Two *Correctorial*, *Apulia* with *Calabria*, and *Lucania Brutiorum*; Four *Præsidial*, *Samnium*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Valeria*. This was the *Urbicary Diocefs*, diftinct from the *Italick Diocefs*, the *Metropolis* whereof was *Milan*.

Within thefe bounds the *Bifhops of Rome*, efpecially after the times of the *Nicene Council* took upon them to exercife *Jurifdiction*, to call *Synods*, *Ordain Metropolitans*, and difpatch other *Church-affairs*. Hence they had their uſual *Synod*, which was a kind of *Council* in ordinary to the *Bifhop of Rome*, and met upon all important occaſions. Such was the *Synod of Pope Damasus*, *ὁ ἅγιος Σύδος ἀπὸς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*, and of the *Bifhops that*  

S  
*Asſembled*

Assembled with him at Rome, mention'd by *Athanasius* \*, as conven'd about his Cause. Such that of the Bishops ἐν τέλει τοῖς μέγεσι, in those parts, spoken of by Pope *Julius* \*, as concurring with him in his Letter to the Eastern Bishops. The old Roman *notitia* (produc'd by *Baronius* \* out of the Records of the *Vatican*, but of an Age much later than the times we write of) tells us this Synod consisted of LXX. Bishops. And much about that number, we find them in the Acts of Councils, as in the Synod under Pope *Gelasius* (a), and in that under *Symmachus* (b). Thus we find Pope *Leo* (c) requiring the Bishops of Sicily to send three of their number every year upon *Michaelmas*-day to meet the Roman Synod, *frat-*

*terno*

\* *Epist. ad Afric. in init.*

\* *Ep. ad Orient. ap. Athan. Apol. ii. p. 580.*

\* *Ad. Ann. 1057. Tom. xi. p. 243.*

(a) *Concil. T. iv. col. 1260.*

(b) *Ibid. col. 1312.*

(c) *Ep. iv. c. 7. p. 101.*



terno concilio sociandi. And the  
 Synod of Sardica \* sending <sup>\* Ext. Ep. ap. Hilar. in fragm. col. 407.</sup>  
 their Decrees to Pope Julius, desire him to communicate  
 them to the Bishops in Sicily, Sardinia and Italy, (i. e. that part of Italy that lay within the Urbicary Diocess) that none of them might receive communicatory Letters from any that had been depos'd in that Council. And this was the *πλῆθος ἐπισκοπων*, the multitude of Bishops wherewith Pope Leo was encompass't, and whom by vertue of the power and pre-  
 heminance *τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ*, of his own proper place and Jurisdiction he had conven'd out of many Cities in Italy, as the Empress Galla Placidia speaks in her Letter \* to Theodosius. <sup>\* Cont. T. 4. col. 53.</sup>  
 Not but that sometimes here (as in other places) we find

foreign Bishops convening in Synods, with those under the Jurisdiction of the *Roman Bishop*, especially upon some extraordinary emergencies: But then this was only in a Brotherly way, and at the invitation of the chief Bishop of those parts, and not that they were under his charge and government. He had no direct and immediate influence over any but those who lay within the bounds, over which the civil Governours who resided at *Rome*, extended their authority, and who no doubt fell in the willinglier with his Jurisdiction, for the conveniency of their being aided and assisted by the Church of *Rome*.

By all which we see, that no sooner were Dioceses divided and settled by the civil consti-

constitution, but the Roman Bishop began to extend his Jurisdiction commensurate to the *Urbicary Diocess*, within which his Metropolitcal was at last swallowed up. This the Learned Arch-bishop of *Paris* \* readily grants, and thinks is intimated in the ancient Version of the *Nicene Canon*, which we mention'd before, where the Bishop of *Rome* is said to have Principality over the *Suburbicary places*, and all the *Province*; the first denoting the Government of the *Provost*, the latter that of the *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant of *Rome*, and consequently the one represents the Popes Metropolitcal, the other his Patriarchal Jurisdiction. 'Tis true he often tells us of a two-fold Patriarchate the Pope had, ordinary,

\* *De Concord l.i.c.7.*  
§. 6. p. 26.

and extraordinary, the one reaching to the *Urbicary* Diocess, the other over the whole *West*. But with how little reason and pretence of truth we noted before.

We grant the Pope had always great honour given him by all, and more by the *Western Churches*, but authoritative power he had not but over his own special Diocess, nor does *S. Basil's* styling him *τῷ Δουτικῷ κορυφαῖον*, the chief of the *Western Bishops*, imply any more than dignity and precedence; or the Empires being divided into *East* and *West*, and in allusion thereto the Churches being sometimes distinguish'd into *Eastern* and *Western* make any more for his *Western Patriarchate*, than it did for the Bishop of *Constantinople* being

ing Patriarch over the whole East. Arguments which I should be asham'd to mention, but that they are produc'd by such great Names, and are indeed the best they have in this matter. I grant that according to the ambitious humour of that Church they were always attempting to enlarge their Borders, and to propagate their power beyond its just limits: and partly by recommending persons to be Bishops in foreign Churches, and thence proceeding to impose them, partly by interpoling in Ordinations, and exacting an Oath of Obedience to the See of Rome from the persons Consecrated, partly by challenging the immediate decision of Episcopal Causes, and a power to confirme, translate, excommunicate, depose, or re-

store all delinquent Bishops, partly by drawing Appeals to *Rome*, and taking the determination of matters from the cognizance of their proper Judges, and arrogating the sole privilege of judging and condemning Heresies, partly by claiming to preside in all Councils, and if disoblig'd, withholding their assent to the Decrees of Synods, partly by sending their Legates into foreign Countries to hear and decide cases, and take up controversies, by taking off, and engaging brisk and active Bishops by honourary Employments, by sending Commissions to the Bishops of the greater Sees, and lodging certain powers in their hands to act as their *Vicars* within their several Provinces, that so they might seem to derive

derive their authority from the Roman See, as they did, at *Thessalonica*, *Corinth*, *Justiniana Prima*, *Arles*, &c. partly by giving all imaginable encouragement to persons, whether of the Clergy or Laity to send to *Rome* for the resolution of difficult and important cases, and partly by dispatching *Missionaries* to convert Pagan Countries; by these and infinite other the like Arts and Methods, they grew in time though not 'till some Ages, to challenge and exercise a power over all the Churches of the *West*. But from the beginning it was not so. The summ then of all that has been discours'd hitherto is this; that as 'twas the Dignity of the City of *Rome* gave the Bishops of that place preheminance above all other Primates or Patriarchs, so 'twas the

the division of the Empire made by *Constantine*, exalted his power from that of a Metropolitan to a Patriarch, and enlarged it to an equal extent with the Diocess of the Lieutenant of *Rome*; within which Bounds they pretty well contain'd themselves 'till their pride and ambition began more openly to break out, and to disturb the peace and order of the Church.



## C H A P. VI.

The Encroachments  
of the See of Rome.  
upon other Sees, espe-  
cially the See of Con-  
stantinople.

*The Roman Bishops breaking the bounds of all Laws and Canons. Their taking hold of all occasions of magnifying their own power. Instances of Julius, Damasus, Innocent, Zosimus to this purpose. The briskness and activity of Pope Leo. His many Letters written to advance the reputation of his authority. His jealous eye upon the growing greatness of the See of Constantinople.*

*A Discourse of the*

stantinople. The attempts and  
 actings of his Legates in the  
 Council of Chalcedon. Their  
 mighty opposition against the pas-  
 sing the xxviii. Canon of that  
 Synod. The fraud of Pascha-  
 sinus in citing the sixth Canon  
 of Nice. Their protestation a-  
 gainst the power granted to the  
 Bishop of Constantinople.  
 Pope Leo's zeal and rage a-  
 gainst these Synodal proceedings.  
 Fælix his Excommunicating A-  
 cacious of Constantinople. The  
 pretended occasion of that Sen-  
 tence. The same spleen continu-  
 ed and carried on by Pope Ge-  
 lasius. A reconciliation procur'd  
 by the Emperour Justin between  
 the Bishops of Rome and Con-  
 stantinople. Pope John's insult-  
 ing over Epiphanius in his own  
 Church at Constantinople.  
 John the Seconds raving Let-  
 ter

ter to Justinian. The Bishop of Constantinople assumes the Title of Oecumenical Patriarch. This in what sence (probably) meant. The passionate resentment of Pope Pelagius hereat. The same zeal shew'd by his Successour Gregory the Great. His Letters written upon that occasion. The hard words he every where bestows upon that Title. His mistake about the offer of that Title to the Pope in the Chalcedon Council. The true state of that case. This Title frequently given to the Constantinopolitan Bishops in the Council under Menans, before John assum'd it. Baronius's poor evasion of that matter. Gregory still continues to thunder out Anathema's against this Title. All this suspected to be but noise, and the quarrel

## A Discourse of the

quarrel only because themselves had not the Title. Phocas his Usurpation of the Empire. The monstrous villany and wickedness of that Man. Pope Gregory's scandalously flattering Caresses to him and his Empress. Boniface the Third makes suit to Phocas, and procures the Title of Oecumenical to be affixt to the See of Rome. The Popes daily enlargement of their Power and Tyranny, and their advantages for so doing. The whole concluded with the Canons or **DICTATES** of Pope Hildebrand.

I. **T**HOUGH Custome and the Canons of the Church had set out the Bishop of Rome his proper Portion in the Ecclesiastick Government, yet

yet how hard is it for covetousness and ambition to keep within any bounds? A spirit of pride still fermented in that See, that made them restless, 'till they had thrown down all enclosures, and that *their Sheaf alone* (as it was in *Joseph's Vision*) *arose and stood upright*; and the *Sheaves of their Brethren* stood round about, and did obedience to it. In the discovery whereof we shall only remark the more general attempts they made concerning it. And first nothing made more way to their Usurpt Dominion, than the magnifying their own power, and the priviledges of their Church upon all occasions.

II. TO begin no earlier than *Pope Julius*; in his Letters to the Bishops of *Antioch*, to make them more willing to sub-

submit their Cause to be tried at Rome, he had it seems highly extoll'd the greatness of that Church, and the dignity and authority of his See, as appears by the summi of their answer \*, and his rejoynder to their Letter. Not long after Pope Damafus writing also to the Eastern Bishops, commends \* them that they had yielded due reverence to the Apostolick See : And though this was spoken with modesty enough (aw'd hereinto perhaps by the Synod at Rome, in whose Name he wrote) yet in his Epistle \* to them of Numidia, and in general to all Catholick Bishops (if that Epistle be genuine) he speaks out, telling them that according to ancient institutions, they did well in all doubtful cases to have recourse

\* *Ap. Sozom.*  
l. 3. c. 8. p.  
508. *ap. Alban. Apol. II.*  
p. 579.

\* *Theod. H. E.*  
l. 5. c. 10. p.  
212.

\* *Dam. Epist. v. Conc.*  
T. 2. col. 876.

course to him as to the head, and that this was founded upon Custome and Ecclesiastick Canons; concluding his long Epistle thus, "All which Decretals, and the constitutions of all my Predecessors, which have been publish'd concerning Ecclesiastical Orders and Canonical Discipline, we command to be observ'd by you, and all Bishops and Priests, so that whoever shall offend against them, shall not be received to par- don, the Cause properly re- specting us, who ought to steer the Government of the Church. This was most Pontifically spoken, and boldly ventured at, especially if we consider how little the *African* Bishops regarded the authority of the *Roman* Church, when

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the

\* *Epist.* 1. c.  
15. *ib.* col.  
1022.

\* *Vid. Innoc.*  
*Epist.* 21. 24.  
25. *Conc.* T.  
2.

the case of Appeals arose a few years after, as we have already seen at large. *Siricius* came next to *Damasus*, and he in his Letter \* to *Himerius* of *Taragon* in *Spain*, magnifies the *Roman* Church as the Head of that Body, and bids him convey those Rules he had sent to all the Bishops in that and the neighbour Countries, it not being fit that any Bishop should be ignorant of the constitutions of the Apostolick See. *Innocent* the First, more than once and again styles \* the Church of *Rome* the Fountain and Head of all Churches, and this built upon ancient Canons; and yet perhaps meant no more, than that it was the principal and most eminent Church of the Christian World: An honour, which upon several accounts

inti-



intimated before, Antiquity freely bestow'd upon it. *Zosimus* in a Letter to the Council of *Carthage* (produc'd by *Baronius* \* out of a *Vatican Copy*) \* *Ad An.* makes a mighty flourish with *418. Tom. 5.* the unlimited power of *S. Peter*, that he had the care not only of the *Roman*, but of all Churches, ratified by the Rules of the Church, and the tradition of the Fathers, that both by Divine and Humane Laws this Power descended upon the Bishop of that See, whose sentence none might presume to reverse.

III. *LEO* the Great entred that See about the year *CCCCXL*. A Man of somewhat a brisker and more active temper, than those that had been before him, and one that studied by all imaginable methods to enlarge

his Jurisdiction, and being a Man of Parts and Eloquence, did amplify and insinuate his power with more advantage.

\* *Epist.* 87.

c. I. p. 157.

He tells \* the *Mauritanian* Bishops, "That he would dis-  
"pence with the Election of  
"those Bishops, who had been  
"immediately taken out of the  
"Laity, so they had no o-  
"ther irregularity to attend  
"them, not intending to pre-  
"judice the commands of the  
"Apostolick See, and the De-  
"crees of his Predecessours; and  
"that what he pass'd by at pre-  
"sent, should not hereafter go  
"without its censure and pu-  
"nishment, if any one should  
"dare to attempt, what he had  
"thus absolutely forbidden.

\* *Epist.* 84.

c. II. p. 155.

And elsewhere \* that Bishops and Metropolitans were there-  
fore constituted, that by them  
the

the care of the Universal Church might be brought to the one See of *S. Peter*, and that there might be no disagreement between the Head and the Members. And in a Sermon upon the Martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*, in a profound admiration he breaks out \* into this Rhetorical Address. "These (*says he*) are the Men that have advanced thee to this honour, that thou art become a holy Nation, a peculiar People, a Royal and Priestly City, that being by the Holy See of *S. Peter* made Head of the World, thou mightest govern farther by means of a Divine Religion, than by worldly power. For although enlarg'd by many victories, thou hast extended the Bounds of thy Empire

\* *Serm. 1. in Natal. App. c. 1. p. 79.*

“both by Sea and Land, yet  
“is it far less which thou hast  
“conquer’d by force of Arms,  
“than that which thou hast  
“gain’d by the peace of the  
“Church.

IV. BUT *Leo* was a Man not only for speaking, but for action. He saw the Emperours and the *Eastern Bishops* were resolv’d to advance the See of *Constantinople*, that it might bear some proportion to the Imperial Court, and that the Synod of *Constantinople* had already adjudg’d it the place of honour next to *Rome*; that therefore it concern’d him to bestir himself to stifle all attempts that way, well knowing that the glory of that would eclipse his lustre, and cramp thole designs of superiority and dominion, which the  
Bishops

Bishops of Rome were continually driving on over the Church of Christ. A general Council was now call'd to meet at *Chalcedon*, Ann. CCCCLI. wherein were present no less than Six hundred and thirty Bishops : Hither Pope *Leo* sent his Legates, furnished with peremptory instructions ( which they afterwards read openly in the Synod ) to keep a quick eye upon all motions that way, and with all possible resolution to suppress them. At the opening of the Council, the Legates cunningly slipt in a clause, telling \* the Fathers, that they had such and such things in command from the most Blessed and Apostolical Bishop of the City of Rome, which was *the Head of all Churches* : Which either was not

\* *Conc. Chalced.*  
*Act. I. Conc.*  
*T. 4. col 93.*

heeded by that Synod, or pass'd by in the sence before declar'd, as allowing it an honourary preheminence above the rest.

In the fifth Session of that Council \* the Papal Legates mov'd that the Epistle of *Leo* about the condemnation of *Nestorius* might be inserted into the very definition of the Council against that Heresie. Craftily foreseeing what a mighty reputation it would give the Pope in the eye of the World, and to what vast advantage it might be stretch'd afterwards. But the Council stiffly oppos'd the motion, and said, they freely own'd the Letter and were ready to subscribe it, but would not make it part of the definition. The Legates were angry, demanded the Letter back again, and threatned to

\* *Act. v. col.*  
555. &c.

to be gone, and to have a Synod at *Rome*. And when the Emperour intimated some such thing, the Bishops cried out, they were for the definition as it was, and they that did not like it, nor would subscribe it, might if they please get them gone to *Rome*. After this, all things went on smoothly 'till they came to frame the Canons, among which one was \*, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* should enjoy equal Priviledges with the Bishop of *Rome*; and then the Legates could hold no longer, plainly telling them, that this was a violation of the constitution of the great Synod of *Nice*, and that their Commission oblig'd them by all ways to preserve the Papal dignity, and to reject the designs of any, who relying upon  
the

\* *Ibid. Act.*  
xvi. col. 810.

the greatness of their Cities, should attempt any thing to the contrary.

To prove that this was contrary to the *Nicene Decrees*, they produc'd the Sixth and Seventh Canons of that Council, beginning thus as *Paschasinus* repeated them, ἡ ἐκκλησία Ρώμης πάντοτε ἔχει τὰ πρωτεῖα. ἔχει τοιγαρὶν ἡ Αἰγυπτῶ, &c. The Church of Rome ever had the Primacy. Let Egypt therefore have this privilege, that the Bishop of Alexandria have power, &c. where instead of the first words of that Canon τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐν κρατεῖται, let ancient Customs still take place, the Legate shuffled in this sentence as more to his purpose, the Church of Rome ever had the Primacy. And admitting here that this was only the Title to that Canon in the Roman Copy,



py, yet 'tis somewhat more than suspicious, that *Paschasinus* intended it should be understood as part of the Canon it self. Which if so, there could not be a bolder piece of forgery and imposture. But the Fathers were not to be so impos'd upon. *Aetius* Arch-deacon of *Constantinople* produc'd a Copy from among the Records of that Church, which he delivered to *Constantine* the Secretary, who read it according to the genuine words of the Canon, without any such addition, *Let ancient Customs still take place, &c.* and in confirmation of that were next read the second and third Canons of the second general Council at *Constantinople*. And because the Legate had objected that the Canon had been procur'd  
by

by fraud, the Judges requir'd the Bishops concern'd to declare their minds, who all readily declar'd the contrary. The case having been thus fully debated, and nothing material being alledg'd against it, the Canon pass'd by the unanimous suffrage of the Fathers, the *Roman* Legates only entering their protestation, and resolving to acquaint the Pope with what was done, that so he might judge both of the injury done to his own See, and the violence offer'd to the Canons.

V. NO sooner did the news of what had pass'd in the Synod arrive at *Rome*, but Pope *Leo* storm'd to purpose, wrote \* to *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, charging him with pride and ambition, with invasion

\* *Epist.* 53.  
c. 2. p. 130.

sion of the Rights of others, with irreverence towards the *Nicene* Canons, - contrary to which he had exalted himself above the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. He dispatch'd \* Letters also to the Emperour *Marcianus*, to his Lady the Empress *Pulcheria*, and to *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and the rest of the Fathers of the Synod, all to the same effect, complaining of the pride of *Anatolius*, and the irregular proceedings of the Council, that the priviledges of Churches were destroy'd, the bounds of Metropolitans invaded, many depressed to make way for one, venerable Decrees made void, and ancient Orders trodden in the dirt. That whatever Rules were made contrary to the Canons of *Nice* were null, that  
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\* *Epist.* 54.  
55. 61. 62.  
105.

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the care and inspection of these things was committed to him, a duty which he could not neglect without being guilty of unfaithfulness to his trust, that therefore by the authority of *S. Peter* he repeal'd and made void what ever any Council had agreed upon, repugnant to the *Nicene* Canons, yea, though done by many more in number than were in that venerable Synod, declaring that no regard or reverence was to be paid to their constitutions. In all which though nothing appear above ground but a mighty zeal for the honour of the *Nicene* Canons, yet 'tis plain enough 'twas his own ambition, his envy and emulation that lay at the bottom. And indeed, neither *Leo*, nor any of the Bishops of that See could  
ever

ever pardon the *Chalcedon* Synod, not only for making the Bishop of *Constantinople* equal to him of *Rome*, but for placing the Primacy of the *Roman* Church, not in any Divine Right, but only in *Romes* having been the Seat of the Empire.

VI. HENCEFORWARD they beheld the Bishops of that place with an evil Eye, as competitors with them in the Government of the Church, and the likeliest persons to give check to their extravagant designs, and therefore laid hold upon all occasions to weaken their interest, and to vent their spleen against their persons. And it was not long after, that a fit occasion presented it self.

*John*

\* *Evagr.**H.E.l.3.c.11.**12.&c.p.343*\* *seq. vid.**Gest. de nom.**Acacii. Cont.**T.4.col.1081**Gelas. Epist.**13. ad Epp.**Dard. ib.**1199. &**Tom. de A-**nath. vincul.**ib. col. 1227.*

*John the Tabennosiot* \* had by gifts and bribes ( enabled thereto by being Steward and Treasurer of that Church ) procur'd himself to be made Bishop of *Alexandria*, expressly contrary to his Oath lately made to the Emperour *Zeno*, that he would never attempt that See. For which he caus'd him to be expell'd, and *Peter Mongus*, who had been heretofore consecrated to that place to be restor'd. *Peter* was a Patron of the *Eutychian* Heresie, but which at first he craftily dissembled, insinuating himself into the favour and friendship of *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who constantly held Communion with him. But was so far from siding with him in any Heretical Sentiments, that no sooner did he hear \* that *Peter* had

\* *Evagr. ib.**c. 16. p.347.*

had publicly Anathematiz'd the Chalcedon Council; but he dispatch'd Messengers to *Alexandria* to know the truth of things, before whose Eys *Peter* cast a mist, having form'd a judicial Process about that matter, and brought in persons to depose that he had done no such thing. Nay, he himself wrote \* to *Acacius*, assuring him, that the charge was false, and that he had, and did confirm and embrace the Council of *Chalcedon*; though all this was pretence and elaborate hypocrisie. *John* driven out from *Alexandria*, flies to *Rome*, giving out himself to be a Martyr for the Cause of Pope *Leo*, and the Faith of the *Chalcedon* Synod.

\* *Ext. Epist.*  
*ib. c. 17.*

Welcome he was to Pope *Simplicius*, who wrote to the

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Emperour in his behalf; but dying not long after his arrival, his Successour *Felix* readily espous'd the quarrel, and after some preparatory messages and citations ( wherein he required of the Emperour *Zeno*, that *Acacius* might be sent to *Rome*, there to answer what *John* of *Alexandria* laid to his charge ) taking advantage of two Synods at *Rome*, held one soon after the other, twice excommunicated and depos'd *Acacius*, for communicating with him of *Alexandria*. Letter after Letter he wrote both to the Emperour, and the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*, that the Sentence against *Acacius* might be own'd and put into execution, who yet continued in his See 'till his death, without any great regard to the Sentence from



from Rome, which he so far slighted \*, that to be even with him, he struck the Popes name out of the *Diptychs*, to shew the World he renounc'd all communion with him. This so much the more enrag'd his enemies at Rome, who all his life long pelted him with continual clamours and threatnings. Nay, *Felix* and his Successours persecuted his very memory, denouncing censures against any that should mention his name with respect and honour. And I cannot but observe that in the Edict \* that was pass'd against him at Rome, mention is made of nothing but contumacy against the Popes Admonitions, the ill usage and imprisonment of his Legates, and the affront therein offered to his person, and in the Excom-

\* *Bas. H. Cil.*  
*H. Eccl. ap.*  
*Niceph. l. 16.*  
*c. 17. p. 683.*

\* *Ext. in*  
*calc. Gest. de*  
*nom. Acac.*  
*ubi supr. col.*  
*1083.*

*Falic. Epist.*  
vi. ib. col.  
1073.

municatory Letter sent to *Aca-*  
*cus* himself, though favouring  
of Hereticks was the great and  
indeed only thing pretended a-  
broad, yet the very first thing  
wherewith he charges him, is  
contempt of the *Nicene Coun-*  
*cil*, and invading the Rights of  
other mens Provinces. It seems  
though he was loth to speak  
out, it was the Decree of the  
late Synod of *Chalcedon* still  
stuck in his stomach, by which  
the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch  
had been advanc'd to so much  
power in the *East*, and made  
equal to him of *Rome*.

\* *Tom. de*  
*Anath. ubi*  
*supr.*

And indeed *Gelasius*, who  
came after *Felix*, says \* plain-  
ly, that the *Apostolick* See never  
 approv'd that part of the *Chal-*  
*cedon* Canons, that it had gi-  
ven no power to treat about  
it, and by its Legates had pro-  
tested

tested against it, and thence most infallibly inferrs, that therefore it was of no authority or value; and accordingly *Peter of Alexandria*, which was the second See (i. e. according to the constitution of the *Nicene Canon*) could not be duly absolv'd by any other power then that of the first See, i. e. his own; accounting that of *Constantinople* (as he elsewhere \* asserts) not to be reckon'd so much as among Metropolitan Sees: And as he argues in his *Epistle* \* to the Emperour *Anastasius*, if Christians be oblig'd in general to submit to their Regular Bishops, how much more should submission be made to the Bishop of that See, to whom both God and the subsequent piety of the Church have al-

\* *Ad Epp. Dard. ib. col. 1207.*

\* *Epist. viii. ib. col. 1182.*

ways given the preheminence above all Bishops; and so he goes on, according to the custome of the men, to speak big words of the authority and priviledges of the Apostolick See.

VII. SEVERAL years this breach that had been made remain'd, 'till *Justin*, a Man of very mean Originals, having by no good arts gain'd the Empire, thought it his interest to oblige and unite all parties. And first he begins to court the Pope, to whom he wrote\*, giving him an account of his advancement to the Empire, and begging his prayers to God to confirm and establish it. This *Hormisd* in his answer calls a paying the *first fruits* of his Empire due to *S. Peter*. Hereupon reconciliation

\* *Inter Epist.*  
*Hormisd.*  
*Conc. T. 4.*  
*col. 1469.*

tion is offered, and *John* Bishop of *Constantinople* writes to him to that purpose, which he at length consents to upon this condition, that the name of *A-cacius* might be stricken out of the *Diptychs*; which at last is done, and that of the Pope again put in, and so a Peace is piec'd up, and the Catholick Faith profess'd on both sides, according to the Decrees of the four general Councils. And though *Epiphanius*, who succeeded *John* in the See of *Constantinople*, maintain'd the same correspondence, yet when ever it came to any important instance, the Pope could not forget his proud domineering temper over the Bishops of that Church. Which sufficiently appear'd about this very time, when *John* the first, *Hermisdas's*

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Successour, being by *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* sent Embassadour to *Constantinople*, with this message to the Emperour *Justin*, either that he should restore to the *Arians* their Churches in the *East*, or expect that the *Catholicks* in *Italy* should have the same measures, he departed from *Rome* with weeping eyes and a sad heart, being grieved not more to be made the bearer of a message, so contrary to his judgment, than to be put upon an employment that seemed a diminution to the Papal dignity; he being (as *Marcellinus* \* observes) the only Pope that had ever been commanded out of the City upon any such Errand. However arriving at the Imperial City, he resolved to keep up his Port, entred with

\* *Chron. Indict.* 3. *Philox. & Prob. Coll.* p. 61.

with great state, and being invited \* to sit upon a Seat even with that of *Epiphanius* Bishop of that Church, he refus'd, telling them he would maintain the Prerogative of the Apostolick See, not giving over, 'till a more eminent Throne was purposely plac'd for him above that of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. As if it had not been enough to reproach and vilify him at a distance, unless contrary to all Laws and Canons, and to the Rules of modesty, civility and reason, he also trampled upon him in his own Church. Nay, *Anastasius* \* adds, that the Emperour in honour to God came before him, and prostrated himself upon the ground to adore and worship him.

\* *Niceph. H.*  
*E. l. 17. c. 9.*  
*p. 746.*

\* *In vit. Jo-*  
*an. 1. Conc.*  
*T. 4. col.*  
*1601.*

Pope

\* Epist. 2.  
*Ibid.* col.  
 1745.

Pope John the second, about ten years after writing \* to *Justinian* ( though there want not very learned men, who question the credit of that Epistle ) talks *stylo Romano*, just after the rate of his Predecessours; he tells the Emperour, 'twas his singular honour and commendation, that he preserv'd a reverence for the Roman See, that he submitted all things to it, and reduc'd them to the unity of it, a Right justified by S. Peter's authority, conveyed to him by that authentick deed of gift, *Feed my sheep*; that both the Canons of the Fathers, and the Edicts of Princes, and his Majesties own professions declar'd it to be truly the head of all Churches. Where yet ( as in infinite other expressions of that nature

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in the *Pontifical Epistles* ) he warily keeps himself within general terms, capable of a gentler or a brisker interpretation, as it stood with their interest to improve.

VIII. WEARIED out with continual provocations, oppositions and affronts from *Rome*, the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* began to think upon some way, by which they might be better enabled to bear up against them. To this end, *John* who from his extraordinary abstinence was Sir-nam'd *Nesteutes* or the *Faster*, being then Bishop of that See in a Synod conven'd there Ann. DLXXXIX. about the Cause of *Gregory* Bishop of *Antioch*, procur'd the Title of *Oecumenical* or Universal Bishop to be conferr'd upon him; with respect probably,

bly, to that Cities being the head Seat of the Empire, which was usually styl'd *Orbis Romanus*, and *Ὀικουμένη*, the *Universe*, or whole World, and it could not be therefore thought extravagant, if the Bishop of it did assume a proportionable Title of honour, nothing appearing that hereby he laid claim to any extraordinary Jurisdiction.

Nor indeed is it reasonable to conceive, that the *Eastern Patriarchs* ( who as *Evagrius*, who was advocate for *Gregory* in that Synod, tells us\* ) were all either by themselves or their Legates present in this Council, together with very many *Metropolitans*, should at one cast throw up their own power and authority, and give *John* an absolute Empire and  
Do-

\* *H. Eccl. l.*  
*6. c. 7. p. 450.*

Dominion over them ; and therefore can be suppos'd to grant no more , than that he being the *Imperial* Patriarch should alone enjoy that honorable Title above the rest. Besides that every Bishop as such, is in a sence intrusted with the care and sollicitude of the Universal Church, and though for conveniency limited to a particular charge, may yet act for the good of the whole. Upon this ground it was, that in the ancient Church, so long as Order and Regular Discipline was observ'd, Bishops were wont upon occasion not only to communicate their Councils, but to exercise their power and functions beyond the bounds of their particular Diocess, and we frequently find Titles and Characters given to  
par-

particular Bishops ( especially those of Patriarchal Sees ) equivalent to that of Universal Bishop : I cannot but mention that passage of *Theodorit* , who speaking of *Nestorius* his being made Bishop of *Constantinople* , says \* , that he was intrusted with the Presidency of the Catholick Church of the Orthodox there, ἐδὲν ὁ ἡγούμενος ἐ τῶν οὐκ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, which was nothing less then that of the whole World. A passage which perhaps might the more incourage and invite *John* at this time to assume the Title.

\* *Hæret. fab.*  
l. 4. c. 12.  
T. 4. p. 245.

IX. BUT in what sence soever intended, it sounded high, but especially made a loud noise at *Rome* , where they were strangely surpris'd to find themselves outshot in their own Bow ; for though they had all along

along driven on the design with might and main, yet they had hitherto abstain'd from the Title. *Pelagius*, who at this time sat in that Chair, was extremely netled at it, and immediately dispatch'd Letters \* to *John* and the Bishops of his Synod, wherein he rants against this pride and folly, talks high of the invalidity of all Conciliary Acts without his consent and approbation, charges them, though summon'd by their Patriarch, not to appear at any Synod, without authority first had from the Apostolick See, threatens *John* with excommunication, if he did not presently recant his error, and lay aside his unjustly usurpt Title of Universal Bishop; affirming that none of the Patriarchs might use that *Profane* Title, and

\* *Pelag. Epist. viii. Conc. T. 5. col. 949.*

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and that if any one of them were styl'd *Oecumenical*, the Title of Patriarch would be taken from the rest, a piece of insolence which ought to be far from all true Christians; with a great deal more to the same effect.

I know the last publishers of the Councils make this Epistle to be spurious, a false piece of Ware patch'd up in *Insidore Mercators* shop. But however that be, plain it is from *S. Gregory* \*, ( who sent Copies of them to the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* ) that *Pelagius* did write such Letters, wherein by the authority of *S. Peter* he rescinded the Acts of that Synod, *propter nephandum elationis vocabulum*, for the sake of that proud and ungodly Title, prohibiting his Arch-Dea-

\* *Lib. 4. Indict. 13. Epist. 36. col. 549. vid. etiam Epist. 38. ibid.*

con then at *Constantinople*, so much as to be present at prayers with the Patriarch of that place.

X. GREGORY the Great succeeded *Pelagius*, whose *Apo-  
crisiarius*, or Agent he had been at *Constantinople* when the thing was done. A man of good learning, and greater piety, and of somewhat a more meek and peaceable temper, then most of those that had gone before him, which perhaps he owed in a great measure, to those sad calamitous times, he so oft complains of, wherein he liv'd: And yet as tender in this point as his Predecessours. *John* of *Constantinople* had lately sent him an account \* of \* *Lib. c.*  
the proceedings in the case of *John* Presbyter of *Chalcedon*, *pist. 39.*  
wherein he took occasion to 555.

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style himself Oecumenical Patriarch almost in every sentence. This touch'd Pope Gregory to the quick, and as he had an excellent talent at writing Letters, he presently sends to *Mauritius* the Emperour, to the Empress *Constantina*, to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, to *John* himself, and to *Sabinian* his own Deacon then residing at *Constantinople*.

In all which he strains all the Nerves of his Rhetoric to load the case with the heaviest Aggravations, complaining \* that by the contrivance of this proud and pompous Title, the peace of the Church, the holy Laws, and venerable Synods, yea and the commands of our Lord Jesus himself (who by that Instrument, *Tu es Petrus*, &c. had committed the care of the whole Church

\* *Ib. Epist.*  
32.



Church to Peter, Prince of the Apostles ) were disturb'd and shatter'd; that it better became Bishops of this time rather to lye upon the ground, and to mourn in Sackcloth and Ashes, than to affect names of *Vanity*, and to glory in *new* and *profane* Titles, a piece of *Pride* and *Blasphemy*, injurious to all other Bishops, yea to the whole Church, and which it became the Emperour to restrain: \* that \* *Epist. 33.*  
 by this new *Arrogancy* and *Presumption* he had lift up himself above all his Brethren, and by his *Pride* had shewn, that the times of Antichrist were at hand; that he wondred the Emperour should write to him to be at peace with the Bishop of *Constantinople*, chiding \* *Sabinian* his Deacon for \* *Epist. 39.*  
 not preventing the Emperour's Commands being sent to him.

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To *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*,  
 and *Anastasius* of *Antioch* (whom  
 elsewhere \* he tickles with their  
 three Sees being the only three  
*Apostolical* Sees founded by *S. Peter* Prince of the Apostles, and  
 that they mutually reflected Ho-  
 nour upon each other ) he re-  
 presents, \* how great a diminu-  
 tion this was to their Dignity,  
 that they should therefore give  
 none this Title, for that so much  
 undue Honour as they gave to  
 another, so much they took a-  
 way of what was due to them-  
 selves ; that this fond attempt  
 was the invention of him, who  
 goes about as a roaring Lyon, seek-  
 ing whom he may devour, and a  
 forerunner of him, who is King  
 over all the Children of Pride. He  
 tells *John* \* himself, and that as  
 he pretends with tears in his  
 Eyes, that unless he quitted this  
 proud

\* *Lib. 6. Ind.*  
*15. Epist. 37.*

\* *Lib. 4. E-*  
*pist. 36.*

\* *Epist. 38.*

*proud foolish Title*, he must proceed further with him, and that if his *profane* and *ungodly* humour could not be cur'd by gentler methods, it must be lanc'd by Canonical severity; that by this *perverse Title* he had imitated the Devil, and had made himself like to *Lucifer* Son of the Morning, who said, *I will ascend above the heights of the Clouds, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God*; telling us, that by *Clouds* and *Stars* we are to understand Bishops, who water by their Preaching, and shine by the light of their Conversation, whom while he despis'd and trod upon, and proudly lift up himself above them, what did he but aspire above the height of the Clouds, and exalt his Throne above the Stars of Heaven; that such proud Attempts had been

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always far from him or his Predecessors, who had refus'd the Title of Universal Bishop, when for the honour of *S. Peter* Prince of the Apostles, the venerable Council of *Chalcedon* offered it to them.

XI. IN which last passage (inculcated by him at every turn, no less \* than four or five several times) I cannot but remark either his Carelesness, or Insincerity; Carelesness, in taking such an important passage upon trust; or Insincerity, if knowing it to be otherwise, to lay so much stress upon so false and sandy a foundation. For the truth is, neither were his Predecessors so modest, that I know of, as to refuse such a Title, neither did the Synod of *Chalcedon* ever offer it to them. There being nothing in all the Acts of  
that

\* *Epist.* 32,  
36, 38. *lib.* 7.  
*Epist.* 30.

that Council that looks this way more than this, that four persons that came from *Alexandria* with Articles against *Dioscorus* their Bishop, exhibited their several Libels of Accusation, which they had presented to Pope *Leo* (who had beforehand espoused the quarrel) with this inscription, *To Leo the most holy and religious Oecumenical Archbishop and Patriarch of Great Rome.* These ✕ Libels the Papal Legats desired might be inserted into the Acts of the Council; which was done accordingly (as is usual in all judiciary Proceedings) for no other reason (as the Synod it self tells \* us) but this, that remaining there, they might thence be again rehears'd in Council, when *Dioscorus* himself should appear, and come to make his defence.

\* *Conc. Chal.*  
*Act. III. col.*  
*419. Conc.*  
*T. 4.*

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This is the true state of the case, and now let the Reader judge, whether the Council offer'd the Pope this Title, when they were so far from approving it, that they did not so much as once take notice of it. I do not deny, but that the Pope's Legats might have an eye that way, and design to have that Title remain among the Records of the Council (as they were watchful Stewards to improve all advantages for their Master;) and therefore we find them sometimes subscribing \* themselves *Vice-gerents of Leo of Rome, Bishop of the universal Church*, which yet elsewhere \* they thus explain, *Ἀποστολικὴ καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπισκοπός*, the *Apostolical and chief Bishop of the whole Church*. But however they intended it, certain

\* *ib. Act. vi.*  
*col. 579.*

\* *Act. xvi.*  
*col. 818.*

tain it is for any thing that appears to the contrary, that the Fathers themselves never dreamt of any such matter, and accordingly when they came \* singly to declare their Judgments about the Epistle of Pope *Leo*, they style him only *Pope*, or *Archbishop of Rome*, nor do his Legates there give him any other Title. And in their Synodal Epistle \* to him, they superscribe it only, *To the most holy and blessed Archbishop of Rome*. *Binius* \* indeed will have the word *Oecumenical* to have been in the Inscription, and that it was maliciously struck out by some Transcriber, because (says he) in the body of the Epistle the Fathers own *Leo* to be the *Head of the Universal Church*, and the Father of all Bishops. When as the Letter has not one word

\* *Act. iv. col. 472. &c.*

x

\* *Ext. ib. col. 834.*

\* *Not. in loc. col. 997.*

word to that purpose, more than this, That as the Head presides over the Members, so did *Leo* over the Bishops in that Synod; which can import no more than his presiding by his Legates (*ἐν τοῖς πλὴν αὐτοῦ πρέσβυτοι*, in his *qui tuas vices gerebant*, as the last publishers of the Councils truly correct the Translation) in that Council.

But suppose the Pope had had this Title conferr'd upon him, (as *Gregory* untruly affirms) 'twas no more than what was frequently given to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as, to omit other instances, is evident from the Council holden there *Ann. DXXXVI.* under *Mennas*, and another under *John* 18 years before, where *John* and *Mennas*, successively Bishops of that See, have both in the Acts of those Councils,



cils, and in Libels of Address from whole Synods, the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch* near twenty times bestow'd upon them. And this was several years before it was assum'd by that Patriarch *John* whom we mention'd before.

And 'tis methinks a sorry evasion of *Baronius* \*, and his Footman *Binius* || ( though 'tis that which they always have at hand, when an Argument pinches, which they know not how to decline ) that this Title was foisted into the Acts of the Council by some later *Greeks*. And yet they produce no authority, no nor shadow of pretence from any ancient Copy that ever it was otherwise. And what if the Church of *Rome* did receive the Acts of that Council, and yet make no such clamours and  
loud

\* *Ad An.*  
518. T. 7.  
p. 5.

|| *Not. in*  
*Conc. sub*  
*Menna, Conc.*  
*T. v. col. 274.*

loud outcry against it? Perhaps it did not intirely admit the Acts of that Synod under *John of Constantinople* Ann. DXVIII. *Binius* himself says, they were but *Magna ex parte recepta*, in a great measure receiv'd by the Church of *Rome*. And who knows whether this Title might not be some part of what was rejected. But if not, perhaps the Popes might slight it as a Title only accidentally given, not claim'd as due. Whereas *Pelagius* and *Gregory* rant so much against the other *John*, because he assum'd it in opposition to *Rome*, and had it by a solemn Synodical Act conferr'd upon him. I observe no more concerning this, than that *Leo Allatius* \* (who is not wont to neglect the least hint that may serve his cause) speaking of this passage, barely takes

\* *De Consens.*  
*Eccl. Or. &*  
*Occ. l. 1.*  
*c. 19. n. 7.*  
*col. 289.*

takes notice of *Baronius's* inference, without the least sign of his approving it. But to return.

XII. WHILE *Gregory* was venting these passionate Resentments, *John* the Patriarch dies. But the quarrel died not with him, *Cyriacus*, who came after him, keeping up the Title. This put the Popes passion into a fresh ferment, and now all the hard things are said over again, and *Cyriacus* \* is warn'd to lay aside the scandal of that ungodly Title, that had given so much offence; and that \* he would hold no communion with him 'till he had renounc'd that proud and superstitious word, which was the invention of the Devil, and laid \* a foundation for Antichrist to take possession, nay peremptorily affirms \* with an

\* *Lib. 6. Epist. 4. (vid. l. xi. Epist. 47. al. 45.*

\* *Ib. Ep. 24.*

\* *Epist. 28.*

\* *Ib. Ep. 30.*

*Ego*

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*Ego autem fidenter dico*, that whoever either styles himself, or desires to be styl'd by others, *Universal Bishop*, is by that very *Pride* of his a *fore-runner of Antichrist*. And when he understood that *John Bishop of Thessalonica*, *Urbicius of Dyrrachium*, *John of Corinth*, and several others, were summoned to a Synod at *Constantinople*, not knowing whether a Snake might not lye hid in the Grass, he writes \* to them, giving them an account of the rise and progress of that *proud and pestiferous Title*, (as he calls it) cautioning them not only not to use it themselves, but not to consent to it in others, nor by any overt Act to approve or own it; and if any thing should be craftily started in the Synod in favour of it, he adjures them by all that

\* *Lib. 7. Epist. 70.*

is sacred, that none of them would suffer themselves to be wrought upon by any Arts of Flattery and Insinuation, of Rewards or Punishments to assent to it, but stoutly oppose themselves against it, and courageously drive out the Wolf that was breaking into the Fold.

XIII. HE that shall view these passages, and look no farther than the outside of things, will be apt to think, surely *S. Gregory* was the most self-denying man in the World, and that he and his Successors would sooner burn at a Stake, than touch this Title. And yet notwithstanding all these passionate outcries, 'tis shrewdly suspicious, that they were levell'd not so much against the Title it self, as the person that bore it. We have taken notice all along what  
an

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an inveterate Pique the Bishops of *Rome* had against those of *Constantinople*, ever since the Emperours and Councils had made them equal to them, and this now added to all the rest, seem'd to exalt *Constantinople* infinitely above *S. Peter's See*.

Had this Title been Synodically conferr'd upon the Pope, we had heard none of this noise and clamour; but for him to be pass'd by, and his Enemy the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to be crown'd with this Title of Honour, 'twas this dropt the Gall into his Ink. And therefore in the midst of all this Humility he ceas'd not to challenge a kind of Supremacy over that Bishop: Who doubts (says he\*) but that the Church of *Constantinople* is subject to the *Apostolic See*, a thing which both the Emperour, and

\* *Lib. 7. E. pist. 64.*

and *Eusebius* the Bishop of it; daily own. But this 'tis plain is there spoken in the case of Rites and Ceremonies, wherein it seems all Churches must take their Measures from *Rome*; unless with *Spalato* \* we understand it of a subjection in point of Order and Dignity, that *Rome* was the first See, and *Constantinople* the second.

\* *De Rep.*  
*Eccl. l. 4. c. 4.*  
n. 28. p.  
582.

The truth is, to me the passage seems suspected, and that *Constantinople* is there thrust in for some other place; and the rather, because there was no *Eusebius* at that time Bishop of that See, nor for a long time either before or after. However, *Gregory* had all his Eyes about him, that no disadvantage might surprise him; and therefore in his Letter to the Bishops of *Greece* (mentioned before)

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that

that were going to the Synod at *Constantinople*, he tells them, that although nothing should be attempted for the confirmation of the *Universal Title*, yet they should be infinitely careful, that nothing should be done there to the prejudice of any place or person: which though coucht in general terms, yet whoever understands the state of those Times, and the Pope's admirable tenderness in those Matters, will easily see, that he means himself. And indeed, that the Bishops of *Rome* look'd upon the Title of *Oecumenical Bishop* to be foul and abominable only 'till they could get it into their own hands, is evident, in that *Gregory* had scarce been 12 Months cold in his Grave, when Pope *Boniface* the Third got that Title taken from *Constantinople*,



*stantinople*, and affix'd to the See of *Rome*; the manner whereof we shall a little more particularly relate.

XIV. *MAURICIUS* the Emperour had in his Army a Centurion call'd *Phocas*, one whose deformed looks were the Index of a more brutish and misshapen Mind. He was \* angry, fierce, bloody, ill-natur'd, debauch'd, and unmeasurably given to Wine and Women; so bad, that when a devout Monk \* of that time oft expostulated with God in Prayer, why he had made him Emperour, he was answer'd by a voice from Heaven, *Because I could not find a worse*. This Man taking the opportunity of the Soldiers mutinying, murder'd the Emperour, and possess'd his Throne, which he fill'd with Blood,

\* *Cedreni compend. Hist. p. 404.*

\* *Cedren. ib. p. 407. vid. Anastas. Sinait. Quast. xvi. p. 182.*

\* *Vid. Nicoph. l. 18, c. 41, 55.*

and the most savage Barbarities. Ten of the Imperial Family \* he put to death, and so far let loose the Reins to fierceness and cruelty, that he had it in design, to cut off all those, whom Nobility, or Wisdom, or any generous or honourable Actions had advanc'd above the common Rank. And yet as bad as this lewd Villain was, scarce was he warm in the Throne when he receiv'd Addresses from Pope *Gregory*, who complemented the Tyrant, and that too in Scripture-phrase, at such a rate, that I know not how to reconcile it with the honesty of a good Man. His Letter \* begins with a *Glory be to God on high, who, according as it is written, changes Times, and transfers Kingdoms, who gives every one to understand so much, when he says*  
by

\* *L. xi. Epist. xxxvi. Indict. vi. col. 793.*

by his Prophet, the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

The whole Letter is much of the same strain, representing the happy advantages the World would reap under the benign influences of his Government. And in another \*

*\*Ib. Ep.xliii.  
col. 796.*

written not long after he tells him, what infinite Praise and Thanks they ow'd to Almighty God, who had taken off the sad and heavy Yoak, and had restor'd times of Liberty under the conduct of his Imperial Grace and Piety. He wrote \*

*\*Ib. Ep.xliv.*

likewise to the Empress *Leontia* (one who is said to have been not one jot better than her Husband) with flattering Caresses; and under abundance of good words, courts her kindness and patronage to the Church

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of *S. Peter*, which he fails not to back with, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, &c. To thee I will give the Keys, &c.*

XV. NOT long after *Gregory* dies, and *Sabinian*, who succeeded, living not full six Months, *Boniface* the Third of that name takes the Chair. He had very lately been *Apocrisiarius*, or the Pope's Legate at *Constantinople*, where he wanted not opportunities to insinuate himself into the favour of *Phocas*, and the Courtiers. And now he thought it a fit time to put in for what the Popes notwithstanding all the pretences of Self-denial, so much desir'd, the Title of *Universal Bishop*, and the rather because *Cyriacus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, was at this time under disfavour at Court. From the very first entrance upon the Papacy he dealt

dealt \* with Phocas about this matter, and at length gain'd the point, though not without some considerable difficulty and opposition, *agre nec sine multa contentione*, as my Authors have it.

\* Sabell. En-  
nead. viii.  
l. 6. col. 528.  
Plat. in vit.  
Bonif. iii.  
p. 85. Nau-  
cher. vol. ii.  
Gener. xxi.  
p. 754. A-  
don. Marty-  
rol. prid. Id.  
Novembr.

At last out comes an Edict from Phocas, commanding, that the Church of Rome should be styl'd and esteem'd the Head of all Churches, and the Pope Universal Bishop. A rare Charter sure, not founded upon the Canons of the Church, but upon an Imperial Edict, and this Edict too granted by the vilest and the worst of Men. But so they had it, no matter how they came by it. And now that Title that had so lately been new, vain, proud, foolish, prophane, wicked, hypocritical, presumptuous, perverse,

*blasphemous, devilish, and Antichristian*, became in a moment not only warrantable, but holy and laudable, being sanctified by the Apostolic See.

XVI. FROM henceforth the Church of *Rome* sat as Queen, and govern'd in a manner without control. For the Empire being broken in the *West* by the irruptions of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, and its Power declining in the *East* by the successful invasions of the *Saracens*, the Emperours were but little at leisure to support and buoy up the Honour of the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarchate. Advantages which the Popes knew well enough how to improve. And indeed every Age made new Additions to the height of the Papal Throne, and the Pride of that Church increasing proportionably

portionably to its Power and Grandeur, hector'd the World into submission to the See of Rome, which as imperiously imposed its Commands and Principles upon other Churches, as Tyrants do Laws upon conquer'd Countries. Witness (for a concluding instance) those extravagant Canons \* or Articles, (*DICTATES* he calls them) which Pope Gregory the Seventh publish'd about the year MLXXV. I know Monsieur Launoy || has attempted to shew that these *Dictates* concerning the Prerogative of the See Apostolic were not fram'd by Gregory the Seventh. Whether his Reasons be conclusive, I am not now at leisure to enquire. Sure I am they are without any scruple own'd for his by Baronius, and generally by all the Writers of that

\* *Ext. inter Epist. Greg. vii. ad calc. Ep. lv. Conc. T. 10. col. 110. & ap. Baron. ad ann. 1076. p. 479. || Epist. Part. vi. Epist. 13. (ad Ant. Faur.)*

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that Church: And Launoy himself is forc'd to grant, that several of them are agreeable enough to the Humour, Pretensions, and Decrees of that Pope. They run thus.

1. That the Church of Rome is founded by our Lord alone.

2. That the Bishop of Rome only can be truly styl'd Universal Bishop.

3. That he alone has power to depose or reconcile Bishops.

4. That his Legate, though of an inferiour Degree, is above all Bishops in Council, and may pronounce sentence of Deposition against them.

5. That the Pope may depose absent Bishops.

6. That where any are excommunicated by him, we may not, among other things, so much as abide



abide in the same House with them.

7. That he only may, according to the necessity of Times, make new Laws, constitute new Churches, turn a Canonry into an Abby, and on the contrary divide a rich Bishoprick, and unite such as are poor.

8. That it is lawful only for him to use the Imperial Ornaments.

9. That all Princes shall kiss none but the Pope's Feet.

10. That his Name alone shall be recited in Churches.

11. That there is but one only name in the World [that is, that of Pope.]

12. That it is in his power to depose Emperours.

13. That in case of necessity he may translate Bishops from one See to another.

14. That

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14. That wheresoever he please, he may ordain a Clerk to any Church.

15. That whoever is ordain'd by him, may have the Government of any other Church, but may not bear Arms, nor may receive a superiour Degree from any Bishop.

16. That no Council ought to be call'd General without his Command.

17. That no Chapter nor Book shall be accounted Canonical without his authority.

18. That no Man may reverse Sentence past by him, and he only may reverse all others.

19. That he ought not to be judg'd by any.

20. That none presume to condemn any person that appeals to the Apostolic See.

21. That the weightier Causes of every Church ought to be referr'd to that See.

22. That

22. That the Church of Rome never err'd, nor, as the Scripture testifies, shall ever err.

23. That the Bishop of Rome, if Canonically ordain'd, is by the merits of S. Peter undoubtedly made holy, as S. Ennodius Bishop of Pavia bears witness, favour'd herein by many of the holy Fathers, as is contain'd in the Decrees of the blessed Pope Symmachus.

24. That by his leave and command Subjects may accuse [their Superiours.]

25. That without any Synod he may depose and reconcile Bishops.

26. That no Man shall be accounted Catholic, that agrees not with the Church of Rome.

27. That it is in his power to absolve the Subjects of unjust Governours from their Fealty and Allegiance.

These

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These were Maxims with a witness, deliver'd like a true *DICTIONATOR* and Head of the Church. And it shew'd, the World was sunk into a prodigious Degeneracy, when a Man durst but so much as think of obtruding such Principles upon the Consciences of Men, and imposing them upon the belief of Mankind.

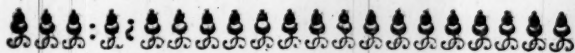
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